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THE WORKS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

VOL. I.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

From the original Picture in the Possession of Thomas W. Sumner Esq.

Boston. Published by Hilliard, Gray & Co.

THE

WORKS

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN;

CONTAINING

SEVERAL POLITICAL AND HISTORICAL TRACTS

NOT INCLUDED IN ANY FORMER EDITION,

AND

MANY LETTERS OFFICIAL AND PRIVATE

NOT HITHERTO PUBLISHED;

WITH

NOTES

AND

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

By JARED SPARKS.

VOLUME I.

BOSTON:
HILLIARD GRAY, AND COMPANY.

1840.

Entered according to the act of Congress, in the year one thousand eight hundred and forty, by HILLIARD, GRAY, AND COMPANY, in the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the District of Massachusetts.

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CAMBRIDGE:
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PREFACE,

BY THE EDITOR.

FEW writers have been so regardless of literary reputation as Franklin. Scarcely any of his compositions were published under his own eye; many of them were not written for the press; and the fame of authorship appears rarely to have been among the motives by which he was induced to employ his pen. It is true, that, in early life and afterwards, he cultivated with uncommon assiduity the art of writing, till he attained a mastery over the language, which has raised his name to the first rank in English literature. Yet it was his primary object, not so much to become distinguished by this accomplishment, as to acquire the power of acting on the minds of others, and of communicating, in the most attractive and effectual manner, such discoveries as he might make, and his schemes for the general improvement, the moral culture, the comfort, and happiness of mankind. He seldom affixed his name to any of his writings. They were mostly designed for a particular purpose; and, when they had answered the end for

which they were intended, he seems to have given himself little concern about their future destiny.

Hence he never took pains to collect and revise for the press any portion of his miscellaneous papers, which had been separately printed, nor to cause a collection of them to be published with his name and under his own supervision; although in two or three instances he rendered some assistance to others, who had voluntarily undertaken the task.

The first collection was published in London in the year 1751. It consisted only of letters and papers on electricity, which he had sent to Peter Collinson, who committed them to the press without the author's knowledge, giving as a reason the extremely interesting nature of their contents, and their importance to the public. A fourth edition of that work, in a handsome quarto volume, was published in 1769, greatly enlarged by the addition of other papers on various philosophical subjects. This edition, and a fifth, which followed it five years afterwards, probably received some degree of attention from the author, as he was then in London. These papers were likewise translated into Latin, French, Italian, and German, and printed in different parts of Europe. In 1772, M. Dubourg made a new collection of Dr. Franklin's writings, embracing all that were in the above work, and many others on miscellaneous subjects, communicated by the author himself, some of which had not before appeared in print. The whole were trans-

lated into French by the editor, illustrated with notes, and published at Paris, in two elegant quarto volumes.

In 1779 another collection was published in London, consisting of political, miscellaneous, and philosophical pieces. These formed a new work, very few of them having been included in any previous edition of the author's writings. The editor was Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, who was for many years an intimate friend and constant correspondent of Dr. Franklin. The task of editorship was performed with a fidelity and success, which were highly commended by the author. The materials are well arranged, and the notes are judicious, appropriate, and valuable.

The above are the only original collections that appeared during the author's lifetime. A compilation from them, in a thin octavo volume, was printed in 1787.

Three years after his death, in 1793, the Messrs. Robinson published in London what they called, in the title-page, the *Works* of Dr. Franklin, comprised in two small volumes. This edition is remarkable as containing the first publication, in the English language, of the Life of Franklin, written by himself. It had lately been published in French, a translation having been made from an original manuscript, which Dr. Franklin had presented to his friend, M. Le Veillard. It was now retranslated into English by a skilful hand. This *retranslation* is the

"Life of Franklin," which has usually been circulated in Great Britain and the United States, and of which numerous editions have been printed. And even to this day it continues to be read, and to be quoted by respectable writers, as if it were the author's original work, although the fact of its being a translation is expressly stated in the preface to the first edition, and although more than twenty years have elapsed since the autobiography was published from the original manuscript. As there printed, it comes down no later than to the year 1731. The first volume contains this portion of the autobiography, and the continuation by Dr. Stuber, which had recently appeared in the *Columbian Magazine* at Philadelphia. The second volume consists of essays, the larger portion of which had been written since the publication of Mr. Vaughan's edition. Another retranslation of the French version of the autobiography was published the same year in London, which is described in the *Monthly Review* as possessing little merit.

The next edition in the order of time was that of Castéra, published in two octavo volumes at Paris, in 1798, being a selection of miscellaneous pieces, with the addition of a few that had been printed separately. They were all translated into French anew. It is a singular circumstance, that the autobiography was translated for this edition from the first English retranslation mentioned above. It thus passed through three changes, first into French, next

from French into English, and then back again into French. The editor does not explain why he preferred this method to that of adopting the first French version. He likewise translated Dr. Stuber's continuation.

In 1806 a larger collection, than had hitherto been made, was published in London by Johnson and Longman, in three volumes, octavo. The editor was a Mr. Marshall. His name is not connected with the work; but he performed his part with good judgment, and used much diligence in searching for essays and papers, that had not before been comprised in any collection. Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, who was then in London, rendered him important assistance.

Dr. Franklin had been dead sixteen years when this edition appeared, and no one of his family had as yet taken measures to publish any of his writings from the original manuscripts. It was known, that, in his will, he had bequeathed all his papers to his grandson, William Temple Franklin, who, soon after his grandfather's death, went to London and made proposals to some of the booksellers for the publication of them. Nothing was done, however, and after a little time no more was heard of these proposals. There was a rumor, that the British ministry interposed, and offered the proprietor of the papers a large remuneration to suppress them, which he accepted. This rumor was so broadly stated in the preface to Johnson's edition, as to amount to a positive charge; and it was reiterated with an as-

surance, that would seem at least to imply, that it was fully sustained by the public opinion.

To this charge William Temple Franklin replied, when, in the year 1817, he published an edition of his grandfather's works from the manuscripts in his possession. In the preface to the first volume he endeavours to explain the reason why he had so long delayed the publication, and he also takes notice of the charge in question. He treats it with indignation and contempt, and appears not to regard it as worthy of being refuted. He was less reserved in conversation. Dr. John W. Francis, of New York, saw him often in London, in the year 1816, while he was preparing his grandfather's papers for the press. "To me," says Dr. Francis, "he peremptorily denied all interference of any official authorities whatever with his intended publication, and assigned, as efficient causes for the non-execution of the task committed to him, the interruption of communication and the hostilities between the French and English nations, and the consequent embarrassments he encountered in collecting the scattered materials." The reason here assigned for delay is not very satisfactory, and there were doubtless others. His father, William Franklin, died in 1813. He had been a pensioner on the British government, in consequence of the part he had taken in the Revolution; and it is probable that he may have been averse to the publication of his father's papers during his lifetime. To say the least, the suspicion that papers were finally

suppressed, for any cause, is without proof and highly improbable. A paper mentioned by Mr. Jefferson, as having been shown to him by Dr. Franklin, and supposed to have been suppressed, was undoubtedly the one relating to a negotiation with Lord Howe and others, for a reconciliation between the two countries, just before Dr. Franklin left England for the last time. This was published by his grandson, and is contained in the fifth volume of the present edition.

The autobiography of Dr. Franklin, as he wrote it, first appeared in his grandson's edition. Many other valuable papers, particularly his official correspondence during his residence in France and numerous private letters, were printed from the original manuscripts. Of the philosophical and political papers, the work comprised only a selection from those that had already been printed. It was first published in three quarto volumes, and afterwards in six volumes octavo. Some time before this edition was put to press in London, another was begun by Mr. William Duane in Philadelphia. Three or four volumes were already printed, when William Temple Franklin's proposals were issued. Subsequently he and Mr. Duane entered into an arrangement, by which both were to have the use of all the materials, and the two works were to be published simultaneously in England and the United States. The Philadelphia edition, in six octavo volumes, includes many philosophical and political papers, and some letters, which are not found in the London edition; and it

has recently been reprinted, with some additions, in two volumes of the royal octavo size. There has also recently been published at Paris, in two small volumes, a selection from Franklin's writings, in Spanish, translated from the French by Mangino.

In the volumes now presented to the public, it has been the Editor's design to make a *complète collection* of the writings of Franklin, as far as they are known to exist, and to add such occasional notes and explanations, as he supposed would be in some degree useful to the reader. The previous collections have been examined, and every piece contained in them has been inserted, except a few, which the Editor was convinced by competent evidence were not written by Franklin. Moreover, a careful search has been made in all the printed books, magazines, pamphlets, and newspapers, in which it was deemed probable that any of the author's writings would be found, in the form either of essays, political tracts, or letters. By this research the mass of materials from printed sources has been considerably enlarged. Seven years ago the Editor published a small volume of Franklin's "Familiar Letters," which were then nearly all printed for the first time, and to which were added several original papers. The entire contents of that volume are embraced in the present work. In short, no printed paper has been omitted, which is known to have been written by Franklin.

The Editor has been fortunate, also, in obtaining

manuscript materials. His researches, as well in the public offices of London and Paris, as in those of the United States, and in many private collections, while he was preparing the "Life and Writings of Washington" for publication, brought into his hands numerous original and unpublished letters of Franklin, of which he has availed himself in this work. But he has been mainly indebted to individuals, who, with a liberality demanding the warmest acknowledgment, have readily contributed such original papers as they possessed.

First, more than twenty original letters were found among the papers of Cadwallader Colden, now in the possession of Mr. David C. Colden, of New York, who politely allowed copies of them to be taken. They are the more valuable, as being of an early date, and containing biographical incidents. Among these papers, also, was the only copy, which has been discovered, of Franklin's original proposal for an American Philosophical Society. *Secondly*, the manuscripts of James Logan have furnished a few letters, and much matter for notes, selected by Mr. J. Francis Fisher, of Philadelphia, from whom the Editor has likewise received many other substantial tokens of kindness in aid of his undertaking, particularly copies of Franklin's letters to John Bartram, the botanist. *Thirdly*, a dozen letters to the Reverend Jared Eliot, of early date, interesting and curious, furnished by Mr. Thomas F. Davies, of New Haven. *Fourthly*, correspondence with James Bowdoin, on

philosophical and political subjects, extending through many years, now in the possession of Mr. Thomas L. Winthrop, of Boston, who, in the most liberal manner, permitted the whole to be inspected, and free use of it to be made. *Fifthly*, more than forty letters to Mary Stevenson, afterwards Mrs. Hewson, and some other original papers, received from her daughter, Mrs. Caldwell, of Philadelphia. *Sixthly*, several letters to his relative, Jonathan Williams, and others to Samuel Franklin, furnished by Mr. Samuel Bradford, of Philadelphia. *Seventhly*, letters to Catherine Ray, afterwards married to William Greene, governor of Rhode Island, some of them of an early date and interesting, received from Mr. William Greene, of Cincinnati. *Eighthly*, letters to Charles Thomson, furnished through the kindness of Mr. William B. Reed, of Philadelphia, who procured them from Mr. John Thomson. *Ninthly*, numerous letters to his sister, Jane Mecom, derived from various sources.

The Reverend Dr. Charles Lowell obtained in Scotland, through the politeness of Mr. Home Drummond and Baron Hume, copies of a few letters to Lord Kames and David Hume, which had not been published. One of those to Hume is important, as affording positive proof, that Dr. Franklin was not the author of the "Historical Review of Pennsylvania," a point that had long been a subject of dispute.

In the Philadelphia Athenæum are volumes of pamphlets, which belonged to Dr. Franklin, and in

some of which are curious marginal notes in his handwriting. The most important of these notes have been selected by the Editor, and they are inserted in the present work. From the manuscripts in the library of the American Philosophical Society he also procured valuable materials, for which, and for numerous kind offices in aid of his inquiries, he is under special obligations to Mr. John Vaughan, the librarian and treasurer of the Society. Dr. Franklin was agent for Massachusetts in London nearly five years, during which time he kept up an uninterrupted correspondence on public affairs with the Speaker of the Assembly. A few only of his letters, written on the business of this agency, have before been published. Copies of all that remain in the Secretary's office have now been obtained, and they are printed in these volumes.

From another source some very interesting letters have been derived, which relate to public events in the author's life during the same period. In the library of George the Third, presented to the British nation by George the Fourth, is a manuscript volume consisting of a correspondence between the Reverend Dr. Cooper, of Boston, Dr. Franklin, and Governor Pownall, for several years immediately preceding the Revolution. The history of this volume is curious. Immediately after the affair at Lexington, the town of Boston was surrounded by American troops, and all intercourse with the country was cut off, except by permission of the British commander; and no per-

son was allowed to pass the lines without being searched. Among the principal men in the town, who were friendly to the cause of the people, was Dr. Cooper, a man distinguished for his abilities and for the influence he had exercised, by his pen and the weight of his character, in opposition to the British claims. With others he obtained a passport to leave the town.

At this time he had in his possession a number of original letters from Dr. Franklin and Governor Pownall, and the drafts of his answers, all of which had an immediate bearing on the controversy between the two countries. Being unwilling to destroy or lose these papers, and apprehensive that they would be taken from him if he attempted to convey them through the lines, he determined to leave them behind, in the hands of a confidential friend, with directions to forward them to him by the first safe opportunity. He accordingly put them together in a parcel, and sent them to Mr. Jeffries, who was then confined to his bed by sickness, and unable to leave the town. These papers Mr. Jeffries deposited in a trunk, which contained other things of his own. As soon as Mr. Jeffries recovered, he likewise went into the country. In the mean time his son, Dr. John Jeffries, adhering to the side of the loyalists, did not choose to accompany his father, but remained in Boston; and his father left many things in his charge, and among others the abovementioned trunk, either not knowing or forgetting that it contained the treas-

ure belonging to his friend. This trunk was nearly a year in the possession of Dr. Jeffries, before he examined its contents, when, upon the evacuation of Boston, collecting his effects in order to embark with the British troops for Halifax, he accidentally discovered the packet of letters, and took it with him. From Halifax he carried it to London, and presented it to a Mr. Thompson, who sent it to the King, with an explanation of the particulars, the substance of which is here given. The original papers are bound in a volume, and a copy of the whole was procured in the King's library by Mr. Richard Biddle, the able and ingenious author of the "Memoirs of Sebastian Cabot," who has obligingly intrusted it to the judgment of the Editor. The letters of both Dr. Franklin and Dr. Cooper, thus furnished, are among the best original materials in the present edition.

But the most important and far the most extensive contributions have been received through the politeness and liberality of Mr. Charles P. Fox, of Philadelphia. When William Temple Franklin went to Europe, not long after his grandfather's death, he took with him Dr. Franklin's letter-books, and some other original manuscripts; but the great mass of papers that had accumulated in his hands while he was minister in France, as well as many others of an earlier date, were left behind at Philadelphia in the possession of Mr. Fox, the father of Mr. Charles P. Fox. They have remained in the family mansion

ever since, now almost fifty years, carefully preserved, and unexamined till they were submitted to the inspection of the Editor. Such of them as were selected for use in preparing this work filled two very large trunks. They consist of original letters written to Dr. Franklin during his residence in France, philosophical tracts, political memoirs, and such miscellaneous papers as would naturally be collected by a man in his situation and employment; and also of a few rough drafts of letters and papers in his own handwriting.

When Dr. Franklin went to France, he left a chest of papers with Mr. Galloway, whom he had made one of his executors, and in whose care he supposed the papers would be safe. The chest was sent to Mr. Galloway's country-seat, a few miles from Philadelphia. A short time only after Dr. Franklin's departure, Mr. Galloway joined the enemy, leaving the papers at his house; and, when the British held possession of Philadelphia, this house was within or near the lines. At the time of the evacuation of the city, the chest was broken open and rifled of a large part of its contents. The remainder were scattered about the floor of the house, trodden under foot, and much injured. Whether this was done by the British troops, or by disaffected Americans, has never been ascertained. Mr. Bache, hearing of the condition of the papers, went to Galloway's house, collected such of them as he could find, and put them again into the chest, which he removed to Philadel-

phia. In this chest, when committed to Mr. Galloway, were the drafts of Dr. Franklin's letters for twenty years, including the whole period of his residence in England. These were all taken away, except a few sheets, which were left behind defaced and torn. In short, his most valuable early papers of every description were in this chest. A great many of them were lost, and never heard of afterwards. Such of them as were rescued by Mr. Bache are among those, which now belong to Mr. Fox. They have furnished much original matter, especially more than forty letters from Dr. Franklin to his wife, not before printed.

To many other gentlemen, also, the Editor has been under obligations for various acts of kindness and much useful assistance, as well in sending him original letters, as in communicating facts illustrative of the writings and life of Franklin. His thanks are in a particular manner due to Mr. Edward D. Ingraham for frequent contributions of this kind; and to Mr. Willard Phillips for the valuable notes, which he has added to the essays on subjects relating to political economy. He has likewise been more or less indebted to Dr. Franklin Bache, Mr. William Duane, Mr. Job R. Tyson, Mr. Thomas I. Wharton, Mr. Henry Reed, Mr. Henry D. Gilpin, Dr. James Mease, Dr. John W. Francis, Mr. Henry Francis, Mr. George Gibbs, Mr. Caleb Emerson, Mr. William C. Folger, Mr. Josiah Quincy, Mr. Samuel A. Eliot, Reverend Dr. Thaddeus Mason Harris, Mr. Isaac P.

Davis, Mr. B. B. Thatcher, Mr. Charles Brown, Mr. Robert L. Emmons, Mr. William Vaughan, and Mr. Petty Vaughan. To these should be added Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, who, although he died soon after the first part of the work was put to press, communicated to the Editor many particulars, which were serviceable in facilitating his labors. Mr. Vaughan's intimate friendship and correspondence with Dr. Franklin, for many years, probably enabled him to contribute more from his personal knowledge, than could have been furnished by any other survivor.

Such are the sources from which the materials for this edition have been derived. The whole number of articles, which have not appeared in any former collection, including letters and miscellaneous pieces, amounts to about six hundred and fifty. Upwards of four hundred and sixty of these have never before been printed. They consist of letters and other papers written either by Franklin, or by some of the most distinguished of his correspondents. In the tables at the end of the tenth volume, each of the pieces now printed for the first time is designated.

In classifying these materials the following arrangement has been adopted.

1. Autobiography.

2. Essays on Religious and Moral Subjects and the Economy of Life.

3. Essays on General Politics, Commerce, and Political Economy.

4. Essays and Tracts, Historical and Political, before the American Revolution.

5. Political Papers during and after the American Revolution.

6. Letters and Papers on Electricity.

7. Letters and Papers on Philosophical Subjects.

8. Correspondence.

Under each head all the articles have been placed in the order in which they were written, with the date of each prefixed, whenever this could be ascertained. The Correspondence is also printed in chronological order, from beginning to end, without regard to the contents of the letters. This method was believed to be preferable to any attempt at a classification, because in numerous instances a single letter treats of various subjects, both of a political and a private nature.

The Editor's notes throughout the work, and the historical remarks at the beginning of many of the essays and political treatises, are intended strictly as illustrations of the author's text, and not as commentaries or critical disquisitions. The substance of these notes and remarks has been drawn, in a great measure, from manuscripts. Mr. Fox's papers, and the public offices in Paris, have furnished copious materials for this part of the work. Some curious particulars, respecting the proceedings of the British ministry and Parliament for a few years after the repeal of the Stamp Act, are selected from the letters of Mr. William Samuel Johnson, who was

the agent from Connecticut in London during that period. His original letter-book is in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the use of it has been freely granted for this occasion. Many interesting and important extracts from Mr. Oswald's correspondence with the British ministry, while he was engaged in negotiating the treaty of peace in Paris, are likewise subjoined as notes to Dr. Franklin's letters on that subject. These extracts were taken from a manuscript volume, containing a copy of Mr. Oswald's entire correspondence, with which the Editor was favored by the Marquis of Lansdown, in addition to other evidences of that nobleman's liberal spirit and enlargement of mind, in aiding his researches for materials illustrative of American history.

A few notes have been selected from Mr. Vaughan's and William Temple Franklin's editions, which are indicated in each case by their initials. For all the notes, except those written by the author, and those for which some other authority is cited, the Editor is responsible.

The first volume consists of a Life of Franklin, being his autobiography, and a Continuation by the Editor. The autobiography has been divided into chapters, of suitable length, for the convenience of readers. In the Continuation the Editor has endeavoured to follow out the author's plan, by confining himself strictly to a narrative of the principal events and incidents of his life, as far as these could

be ascertained from his writings, his public acts, and the testimony of his contemporaries.

The engraved portrait of Dr. Franklin, prefixed to the first volume, is from an original picture now in the possession of Mr. Thomas W. Sumner, of Brookline, Massachusetts. Neither the name of the artist, nor the precise time at which it was painted, is known. The picture formerly belonged to his brother, John Franklin, and it is mentioned in his will, dated in January, 1756. It has been retained in the family ever since. It was painted when Franklin was a young man, probably before he was thirty years old, and twenty-five or thirty years earlier than the portraits, from which any of the other engravings extant have been taken. The head of Mrs. Franklin, contained in this work, is from a picture owned by the Reverend Dr. Charles Hodge, of Princeton, New Jersey. Both these portraits are of the size of life. They have never before been engraved. The portrait by Duplessis has been generally acknowledged to exhibit the best likeness of Franklin in his old age. The engraving of it for this work was executed in Paris, from the original.

Although the Editor has spared neither labor nor expense in his endeavours to make this edition a complete collection of the writings of Franklin, yet he is constrained to say, in justice to the memory of the author, that he has been less successful than he could have wished. Many papers, known to have once existed, he has not been able to find. Of this

description are numerous letters to his son, written before the Revolution; and also his letters, during a long course of years, to his daughter and his son-in-law, a very few of which have been preserved. Again, his entire correspondence with the Assemblies of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Georgia, while he was agent for those colonies in England, has hitherto eluded the most vigilant search. All these papers are probably lost, as well as those taken from the chest in Galloway's house, and others, described by him as important, which he had committed to the charge of his son, before his mission to France. It is possible that other writings may yet be brought to light, which may afford some future editor the means of more entire success.

FEBRUARY, 1840.

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LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.*

CHAPTER I.

Origin and Genealogy of his Family. — His Birth. — His Mother. — Employments in his Boyhood. — Anecdote. — Character of his Father. — Epitaph on his Father and Mother. — Fond of reading. — Apprenticed to his Brother to learn the Printer's Trade. — Writes Ballads. — Intimacy with Collins. — Practises Composition. — Adopts a vegetable Diet. — Studies the Socratic Method of Disputation. — Concerned in publishing a Newspaper. — Disagrees with his Brother. — Leaves Boston and takes Passage in a Sloop for New York.

I HAVE ever had a pleasure in obtaining any little anecdotes of my ancestors. You may remember the inquiries I made among the remains of my relations, when you were with me in England, and the journey I undertook for that purpose. Imagining it may be equally agreeable to you to learn the circumstances of *my* life, many of which you are unacquainted with, and expecting the enjoyment of a few weeks' uninterrupted leisure, I sit down to write them. Besides, there are some other inducements that excite me to this

* The first part of the Autobiography, constituting the first six Chapters of this edition, was written in the form of a letter to his son, William Franklin, then governor of New Jersey. It was begun while the author was on a visit to the family of the Bishop of St. Asaph, at Twyford, in the year 1771. — EDITOR.

undertaking. From the poverty and obscurity in which I was born, and in which I passed my earliest years, I have raised myself to a state of affluence and some degree of celebrity in the world. As constant good fortune has accompanied me even to an advanced period of life, my posterity will perhaps be desirous of learning the means, which I employed, and which, thanks to Providence, so well succeeded with me. They may also deem them fit to be imitated, should any of them find themselves in similar circumstances.

This good fortune, when I reflect on it, which is frequently the case, has induced me sometimes to say, that, if it were left to my choice, I should have no objection to go over the same life from its beginning to the end; requesting only the advantage authors have of correcting in a second edition the faults of the first. So would I also wish to change some incidents of it, for others more favorable. Notwithstanding, if this condition was denied, I should still accept the offer of re-commencing the same life. But as this repetition is not to be expected, that, which resembles most living one's life over again, seems to be to recall all the circumstances of it; and, to render this remembrance more durable, to record them in writing.

In thus employing myself I shall yield to the inclination, so natural to old men, of talking of themselves and their own actions; and I shall indulge it without being tiresome to those, who, from respect to my age, might conceive themselves obliged to listen to me, since they will be always free to read me or not. And, lastly, (I may as well confess it, as the denial of it would be believed by nobody,) I shall perhaps not a little gratify my own vanity. Indeed, I never heard or saw the introductory words, "Without vanity I may say," &c., but some vain thing immediately followed.

Most people dislike vanity in others, whatever share they have of it themselves; but I give it fair quarter wherever I meet with it, being persuaded, that it is often productive of good to the possessor, and to others who are within his sphere of action; and therefore in many cases it would not be altogether absurd, if a man were to thank God for his *vanity* among the other comforts of life.

And now I speak of thanking God, I desire with all humility to acknowledge, that I attribute the mentioned happiness of my past life to his divine providence, which led me to the means I used, and gave the success. My belief of this induces me to *hope*, though I must not *presume*, that the same goodness will still be exercised towards me in continuing that happiness, or enabling me to bear a fatal reverse, which I may experience as others have done; the complexion of my future fortune being known to him only, in whose power it is to bless us, even in our afflictions.

Some notes, which one of my uncles, who had the same curiosity in collecting family anecdotes, once put into my hands, furnished me with several particulars relative to our ancestors. From these notes I learned, that they lived in the same village, Ecton, in Northamptonshire, on a freehold of about thirty acres, for at least three hundred years, and how much longer could not be ascertained.*

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* Perhaps from the time, when the name of FRANKLIN, which before was the name of an order of people, was assumed by them for a *surname*, when others took surnames all over the kingdom.

As a proof that FRANKLIN was anciently the common name of an order or rank in England, see Judge Fortescue, *De laudibus Legum Angliæ*, written about the year 1412, in which is the following passage, to show that good juries might easily be formed in any part of England.

"Regio etiam illa, ita respersa refertaque est *possessoribus terrarum* et agrorum, quod in eâ, villula tam parva reperiri non poterit, in quâ non

This small estate would not have sufficed for their maintenance without the business of a smith, which had continued in the family down to my uncle's time, the eldest son being always brought up to that employment; a custom which he and my father followed with regard to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at Ecton, I found an account of their marriages and burials from the year 1555 only, as the registers kept did not commence previous thereto. I however learned from it, that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather, Thomas, who was born in 1598, lived at Ecton, till he was too old to continue his business, when he retired to Banbury in Oxfordshire, to the house of his son John, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my uncle died and lies buried. We saw

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est *miles*, *armiger*, vel pater-familias, qualis ibidem *Franklin* vulgariter nuncupatur, magnis ditatus possessionibus, nec non libere tenentes et alii *valecti* plurimi, suis patrimoniis sufficientes ad faciendum juratam in formâ prænotatâ."

"Moreover, the same country is so filled and replenished with landed menne, that therein so small a Thorpe cannot be found wherein dweleth not a knight, an esquire, or such a householder, as is there commonly called a *Franklin*, enriched with great possessions; and also other freeholders and many yeomen able for their livelihoods to make a jury in form aforementioned." — *Old Translation.*

Chaucer too calls his Country Gentleman a *Franklin*, and, after describing his good housekeeping, thus characterizes him.

"This worthy Franklin bore a purse of silk,
Fixed to his girdle, white as morning milk.
Knight of the Shire, first Justice at th' Assize,
To help the poor, the doubtful to advise.
In all employments, generous, just, he proved;
Renowned for courtesy, by all beloved."

Again.

——"A spacious court they see,
Both plain and pleasant to be walked in,
Where them does meet a Franklin fair and free."

SPENSER'S *Fairy Queen.*

See APPENDIX, No. I.

his gravestone in 1758. His eldest son Thomas lived in the house at Ecton, and left it with the land to his only daughter, who, with her husband, one Fisher of Wellingborough, sold it to Mr. Isted, now lord of the manor there. My grandfather had four sons, who grew up; viz. Thomas, John, Benjamin, and Josiah. Being at a distance from my papers, I will give you what account I can of them from memory; and, if my papers are not lost in my absence, you will find among them many more particulars.*

Thomas, my eldest uncle, was bred a smith under his father, but, being ingenious and encouraged in learning, as all his brothers were, by an Esquire Palmer, then the principal inhabitant of that parish, he qualified himself for the bar, and became a considerable man in the county; was chief mover of all public-spirited enterprises for the county or town of Northampton, as well as of his own village, of which many instances were related of him; and he was much taken notice of and patronized by Lord Halifax. He died in 1702, the 6th of January; four years to a day before I was born. The recital, which some elderly persons made to us of his character, I remember struck you as something extraordinary, from its similarity with what you knew of me. "Had he died," said you, "four years later, on the same day, one might have supposed a transmigration."

John, my next uncle, was bred a dyer, I believe of wool. Benjamin was bred a silk dyer, serving an apprenticeship in London. He was an ingenious man. I remember, when I was a boy, he came to my father's in Boston, and resided in the house with us for

* See a letter to his wife, describing his visit to Ecton, in the year 1758; Vol. VII. p. 177. — Editor.

several years. There was always a particular affection between my father and him, and I was his godson. He lived to a great age. He left behind him two quarto volumes of manuscript, of his own poetry, consisting of fugitive pieces addressed to his friends.* He had invented a short-hand of his own, which he taught me, but, not having practised it, I have now forgotten it. He was very pious, and an assiduous attendant at the sermons of the best preachers, which he reduced to writing according to his method, and had thus collected several volumes of them.

He was also a good deal of a politician; too much so, perhaps, for his station. There fell lately into my hands, in London, a collection he had made of all the principal political pamphlets relating to public affairs, from the year 1641 to 1717. Many of the volumes are wanting, as appears by their numbering, but there still remain eight volumes in folio, and twenty in quarto and in octavo. A dealer in old books had met with them, and knowing me by name, having bought books of him, he brought them to me. It would appear that my uncle must have left them here, when he went to America, which was about fifty years ago. I found several of his notes in the margins. His grandson, Samuel Franklin, is still living in Boston.†

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* These two volumes have been preserved, and are now before me. They belong to Mrs. Emmons, of Boston, great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, their author. Some further account of them is contained in the APPENDIX, No. I. — EDITOR.

† This grandson of Benjamin Franklin followed the trade of his father, which was that of a cutler. On the father's sign, suspended over the shop door, was painted a crown, with his name, "Samuel Franklin from London." It had also some of the implements of his trade. This sign was retained by Samuel Franklin the younger. At the beginning of the Revolution, the "Sons of Liberty" took offence at this crown, and demanded the removal of the sign; but they finally contented themselves with daubing a coat of paint over the crown, leaving "Samuel

Our humble family early embraced the reformed religion. Our forefathers continued Protestants through the reign of Mary, when they were sometimes in danger of persecution, on account of their zeal against Popery. They had an English Bible, and, to conceal it and place it in safety, it was fastened open with tapes under and within the cover of a joint stool. When my great-grandfather wished to read it to his family, he placed the joint stool on his knees, and then turned over the leaves under the tapes. One of the children stood at the door to give notice if he saw the apparitor coming, who was an officer of the spiritual court. In that case the stool was turned down again upon its feet, when the Bible remained concealed under it as before. This anecdote I had from uncle Benjamin. The family continued all of the church of England, till about the end of Charles the Second's reign, when some of the ministers that had been outed for their non-conformity, holding conventicles in Northamptonshire, my uncle Benjamin and my father Josiah adhered to them, and so continued all their lives. The rest of the family remained with the Episcopal church.

My father married young, and carried his wife with three children to New England, about 1682. The conventicles being at that time forbidden by law, and frequently disturbed in the meetings, some considerable men of his acquaintances determined to go to that country, and he was prevailed with to accompany them thither, where they expected to enjoy the exercise of their religion with freedom. By the same wife my

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Franklin from London," and the implements of cutlery. Time gradually wore off the paint from the crown, so as to make it faintly visible; and Mather Byles, who was as noted for his loyalty as for his puns, used to lament to Mrs. Franklin, that she should live at the sign of the *half-crown*. — EDITOR.

father had four children more born there, and by a second, ten others; in all seventeen; of whom I remember to have seen thirteen sitting together at his table; who all grew up to years of maturity and were married. I was the youngest son, and the youngest of all the children except two daughters. I was born in Boston, in New England.* My mother, the second wife of my father, was Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first settlers of New England; of whom honorable mention is made by Cotton Mather in his ecclesiastical history of that country, entitled *Magnalia Christi Americana*, as "a godly and learned Englishman," if I remember the words rightly. I was informed, he wrote several small occasional works, but only one of them was printed, which I remember to have seen several years since. It was written in 1675. It was in familiar verse, according to the taste of the times and people; and addressed to the government there. It asserts the liberty of conscience, in behalf of the Anabaptists, the Quakers, and other sectaries, that had been persecuted. He attributes to this persecution the Indian wars, and other calamities that had befallen the country; regarding them as so many judgments of God to punish so heinous an offence, and exhorting the repeal of those laws, so contrary to charity. This piece appeared to me as written

* He was born January 6th, 1706, Old Style, being Sunday, and the same as January 17th, New Style, which his biographers have usually mentioned as the day of his birth. By the records of the Old South Church in Boston, to which his father and mother belonged, it appears that he was baptized the same day. In the old public Register of Births, still preserved in the Mayor's office in Boston, his birth is recorded under the date of January 6th, 1706. At this time his father occupied a house in Milk Street, opposite to the Old South Church, but he removed shortly afterwards to a house at the corner of Hanover and Union Streets, where it is believed he resided the remainder of his life, and where the son passed his early years. — EDITOR.

with manly freedom, and a pleasing simplicity. The six last lines I remember, but have forgotten the preceding ones of the stanza; the purport of them was, that his censures proceeded from good will, and therefore he would be known to be the author.

"Because to be a libeller
I hate it with my heart.
From Sherbon Town* where now I dwell,
My name I do put here;
Without offence your real friend,
It is Peter Folger."†

My elder brothers were all put apprentices to different trades. I was put to the grammar school at eight years of age; my father intending to devote me, as the tythe of his sons, to the service of the church.

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* In the island of Nantucket.

† The poem, if such it may be called, of which these are the closing lines, extends through fourteen pages of a duodecimo pamphlet, entitled, "*A Looking-Glass for the Times; or the former Spirit of New England revived in this Generation*; by PETER FOLGER." It is dated at the end, "April 23d, 1676." The lines, which immediately precede those quoted by Dr. Franklin, and which are necessary to complete the sentiment intended to be conveyed by the author, are the following.

"I am for peace, and not for war,
And that 's the reason why
I write more plain than some men do,
That use to daub and lie.
But I shall cease, and set my name
To what I here insert,
Because to be a libeller," &c.

The author's muse speaks even in the titlepage, and explains to the reader his design in writing the "Looking Glass for the Times."

"Let all that read these verses know
That I intend something to show
About our war, how it hath been,
And also what is the chief sin,
That God doth so with us contend,
And when these wars are like to end.
Read then in love; do not despise
What here is set before thine eyes."

Additional facts, respecting the Franklin and Folger families, are contained in the APPENDIX, No. I. — EDITOR.

My early readiness in learning to read, which must have been very early, as I do not remember when I could not read, and the opinion of all his friends, that I should certainly make a good scholar, encouraged him in this purpose of his. My uncle Benjamin too approved of it, and proposed to give me his shorthand volumes of sermons, to set up with, if I would learn his shorthand. I continued, however, at the grammar school rather less than a year, though in that time I had risen gradually from the middle of the class of that year to be at the head of the same class, and was removed into the next class, whence I was to be placed in the third at the end of the year.

But my father, burdened with a numerous family, was unable without inconvenience to support the expense of a college education. Considering, moreover, as he said to one of his friends in my presence, the little encouragement that line of life afforded to those educated for it, he gave up his first intentions, took me from the grammar school, and sent me to a school for writing and arithmetic, kept by a then famous man, Mr. George Brownwell. He was a skilful master, and successful in his profession, employing the mildest and most encouraging methods. Under him I learned to write a good hand pretty soon; but I failed entirely in arithmetic. At ten years old I was taken to help my father in his business, which was that of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler; a business to which he was not bred, but had assumed on his arrival in New England, because he found that his dyeing trade, being in little request, would not maintain his family. Accordingly, I was employed in cutting wicks for the candles, filling the moulds for cast candles, attending the shop, going of errands, &c.

I disliked the trade, and had a strong inclination to

go to sea; but my father declared against it. But, residing near the water, I was much in it and on it. I learned to swim well, and to manage boats; and, when embarked with other boys, I was commonly allowed to govern, especially in any case of difficulty; and upon other occasions I was generally the leader among the boys, and sometimes led them into scrapes, of which I will mention one instance, as it shows an early projecting public spirit, though not then justly conducted. There was a salt marsh, which bounded part of the millpond, on the edge of which, at high water, we used to stand to fish for minnows. By much trampling we had made it a mere quagmire. My proposal was to build a wharf there for us to stand upon, and I showed my comrades a large heap of stones, which were intended for a new house near the marsh, and which would very well suit our purpose. Accordingly in the evening, when the workmen were gone home, I assembled a number of my playfellows, and we worked diligently like so many emmets, sometimes two or three to a stone, till we brought them all to make our little wharf. The next morning, the workmen were surprised at missing the stones, which had formed our wharf. Inquiry was made after the authors of this transfer; we were discovered, complained of, and corrected by our fathers; and, though I demonstrated the utility of our work, mine convinced me, that that which was not honest, could not be truly useful.

I suppose you may like to know what kind of a man my father was. He had an excellent constitution, was of a middle stature, well set, and very strong. He could draw prettily, and was skilled a little in music. His voice was sonorous and agreeable, so that when he played on his violin, and sung withal, as he was accustomed to do after the business of the day was

over, it was extremely agreeable to hear. He had some knowledge of mechanics, and on occasion was very handy with other tradesmen's tools. But his great excellence was his sound understanding, and his solid judgment in prudential matters, both in private and public affairs. It is true he was never employed in the latter, the numerous family he had to educate, and the straitness of his circumstances, keeping him close to his trade; but I remember well his being frequently visited by leading men, who consulted him for his opinion in public affairs, and those of the church he belonged to; and who showed a great respect for his judgment and advice.

He was also much consulted by private persons about their affairs, when any difficulty occurred, and frequently chosen an arbitrator between contending parties. At his table he liked to have, as often as he could, some sensible friend or neighbour to converse with, and always took care to start some ingenious or useful topic for discourse, which might tend to improve the minds of his children. By this means he turned our attention to what was good, just, and prudent, in the conduct of life; and little or no notice was ever taken of what related to the victuals on the table; whether it was well or ill dressed, in or out of season, of good or bad flavor, preferable or inferior to this or that other thing of the kind; so that I was brought up in such a perfect inattention to those matters, as to be quite indifferent what kind of food was set before me. Indeed, I am so unobservant of it, that to this day I can scarce tell a few hours after dinner of what dishes it consisted. This has been a great convenience to me in travelling, where my companions have been sometimes very unhappy for want of a suitable gratification of their more delicate, because better instructed, tastes and appetites.

My mother had likewise an excellent constitution; she suckled all her ten children. I never knew either my father or mother to have any sickness, but that of which they died; he at eighty-nine, and she at eighty-five years of age. They lie buried together at Boston, where I some years since placed a marble over their grave, with this inscription;

JOSIAH FRANKLIN
and
ABIAH his wife,
Lie here interred.
They lived lovingly together in wedlock,
Fifty-five years;
And without an estate, or any gainful employment,
By constant labor, and honest industry,
(With God's blessing,)
Maintained a large family comfortably;
And brought up thirteen children and seven grandchildren
Reputably.
From this instance, reader,
Be encouraged to diligence in thy calling,
And distrust not Providence.
He was a pious and prudent man,
She a discreet and virtuous woman.
Their youngest son,
In filial regard to their memory,
Places this stone.
J. F. born 1655; died 1744. Æt. 89.
A. F. born 1667; died 1752. Æt. 85.*

By my rambling digressions, I perceive myself to be grown old. I used to write more methodically. But one does not dress for private company, as for a public ball. Perhaps it is only negligence.

* The marble stone, on which this inscription was engraved, having become decayed, and the inscription itself defaced by time, a more durable monument has been erected over the graves of the father and mother of Franklin. The suggestion was first made at a meeting of the building committee of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, in the autumn of 1826, and it met with universal approbation. A committee of management was organized, and an amount of money adequate to the object was soon contributed by the voluntary subscriptions of a large

To return; I continued thus employed in my father's business for two years, that is, till I was twelve years old; and, my brother John, who was bred to that business, having left my father, married, and set up for himself at Rhode Island, there was every appearance that I was destined to supply his place, and become a tallow-chandler. But my dislike to the trade continuing, my father had apprehensions, that, if he did not put me to one more agreeable, I should break loose and go to sea, as my brother Josiah had done, to his great vexation. In consequence, he took me to walk

number of the citizens of Boston. The corner-stone was laid on the 15th of June, 1827, and an address appropriate to the occasion was pronounced by General Henry A. S. Dearborn.

The monument is an obelisk of granite, twenty-one feet high, which rests on a square base measuring seven feet on each side and two feet in height. The obelisk is composed of five massive blocks of granite placed one above another. On one side is the name of FRANKLIN in large bronze letters, and a little below is a tablet of bronze, thirty-two inches long and sixteen wide, sunk into the stone. On this tablet is engraved Dr. Franklin's original inscription, as quoted in the text, and beneath it are the following lines.

"The marble tablet,
Bearing the above inscription,
Having been dilapidated by the ravages of time,
A number of citizens,
Entertaining the most profound veneration
For the memory of the illustrious
Benjamin Franklin,
And desirous of reminding succeeding generations,
That he was born in Boston, A. D. MDCCVI,
Erected this
Obelisk
Over the graves of his parents.
MDCCCXXVII."

A silver plate was deposited under the corner-stone, with an inscription commemorative of the occasion, a part of which is as follows. "This Monument was erected over the Remains of the Parents of Benjamin Franklin by the Citizens of Boston, from Respect to the Private Character and Public Services of this Illustrious Patriot and Philosopher, and for the many Tokens of his affectionate Attachment to his native Town." — EDITOR.

with him and see joiners, bricklayers, turners, braziers, &c., at their work, that he might observe my inclination, and endeavour to fix it on some trade or profession that would keep me on land. It has ever since been a pleasure to me to see good workmen handle their tools. And it has been often useful to me, to have learned so much by it, as to be able to do some trifling jobs in the house when a workman was not at hand, and to construct little machines for my experiments, at the moment when the intention of making these was warm in my mind. My father determined at last for the cutler's trade, and placed me for some days on trial with Samuel, son to my uncle Benjamin, who was bred to that trade in London, and had just established himself in Boston. But the sum he exacted as a fee for my apprenticeship displeased my father, and I was taken home again.

From my infancy I was passionately fond of reading, and all the money that came into my hands was laid out in the purchasing of books. I was very fond of voyages. My first acquisition was Bunyan's works in separate little volumes. I afterwards sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's *Historical Collections*. They were small chapmen's books, and cheap; forty volumes in all. My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read. I have often regretted, that, at a time when I had such a thirst for knowledge, more proper books had not fallen in my way, since it was resolved I should not be bred to divinity. There was among them Plutarch's *Lives*, which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of Defoe's, called *An Essay on Projects*, and another of Dr. Mather's, called *An Essay to do Good*, which perhaps gave me a turn of thinking, that had

an influence on some of the principal future events of my life.

This bookish inclination at length determined my father to make me a printer, though he had already one son, James, of that profession. In 1717 my brother James returned from England with a press and letters, to set up his business in Boston. I liked it much better than that of my father, but still had a hankering for the sea. To prevent the apprehended effect of such an inclination, my father was impatient to have me bound to my brother. I stood out some time, but at last was persuaded, and signed the indenture, when I was yet but twelve years old. I was to serve an apprenticeship till I was twenty-one years of age, only I was to be allowed journeyman's wages during the last year. In a little time I made a great progress in the business, and became a useful hand to my brother. I now had access to better books. An acquaintance with the apprentices of booksellers enabled me sometimes to borrow a small one, which I was careful to return soon, and clean. Often I sat up in my chamber reading the greatest part of the night, when the book was borrowed in the evening and to be returned in the morning, lest it should be found missing.

After some time a merchant, an ingenious, sensible man, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, frequented our printing office, took notice of me, and invited me to see his library, and very kindly proposed to lend me such books, as I chose to read. I now took a strong inclination for poetry, and wrote some little pieces. My brother, supposing it might turn to account, encouraged me, and induced me to compose two occasional ballads. One was called *The Light House Tragedy*, and contained an account of the shipwreck of Captain Worthilake with his two daugh-

ters; the other was a sailor's song, on the taking of the famous *Teach*, or *Blackbeard*, the pirate. They were wretched stuff, in street-ballad style; and when they were printed, my brother sent me about the town to sell them. The first sold prodigiously, the event being recent, and having made a great noise. This success flattered my vanity; but my father discouraged me by criticizing my performances, and telling me verse-makers were generally beggars. Thus I escaped being a poet, and probably a very bad one; but, as prose writing has been of great use to me in the course of my life, and was a principal means of my advancement, I shall tell you how in such a situation I acquired what little ability I may be supposed to have in that way.

There was another bookish lad in the town, John Collins by name, with whom I was intimately acquainted. We sometimes disputed, and very fond we were of argument, and very desirous of confuting one another; which disputatious turn, by the way, is apt to become a very bad habit, making people often extremely disagreeable in company, by the contradiction that is necessary to bring it into practice; and thence, besides souring and spoiling the conversation, it is productive of disgusts and perhaps enmities with those, who may have occasion for friendship. I had caught this by reading my father's books of dispute on religion. Persons of good sense, I have since observed, seldom fall into it, except lawyers, university men, and generally men of all sorts, who have been bred at Edinburgh.

A question was once, somehow or other, started between Collins and me, on the propriety of educating the female sex in learning, and their abilities for study. He was of opinion that it was improper, and that they

were naturally unequal to it. I took the contrary side, perhaps a little for dispute's sake. He was naturally more eloquent, having a greater plenty of words, and sometimes, as I thought, I was vanquished more by his fluency than by the strength of his reasons. As we parted without settling the point, and were not to see one another again for some time, I sat down to put my arguments in writing, which I copied fair and sent to him. He answered, and I replied. Three or four letters on a side had passed, when my father happened to find my papers and read them. Without entering into the subject in dispute, he took occasion to talk to me about my manner of writing; observed, that though I had the advantage of my antagonist in correct spelling and pointing (which he attributed to the printing-house), I fell far short in elegance of expression, in method, and in perspicuity, of which he convinced me by several instances. I saw the justice of his remarks, and thence grew more attentive to my manner of writing, and determined to endeavour to improve my style.

About this time, I met with an odd volume of the *Spectator*. I had never before seen any of them. I bought it, read it over and over, and was much delighted with it. I thought the writing excellent, and wished if possible to imitate it. With that view, I took some of the papers, and making short hints of the sentiments in each sentence, laid them by a few days, and then, without looking at the book, tried to complete the papers again, by expressing each hinted sentiment at length, and as fully as it had been expressed before, in any suitable words that should occur to me. Then I compared my Spectator with the original, discovered some of my faults, and corrected them. But I found I wanted a stock of words, or a readiness in recollecting and using them, which I thought I should

have acquired before that time, if I had gone on making verses; since the continual search for words of the same import, but of different length to suit the measure, or of different sound for the rhyme, would have laid me under a constant necessity of searching for variety, and also have tended to fix that variety in my mind, and make me master of it. Therefore I took some of the tales in the Spectator, and turned them into verse; and, after a time, when I had pretty well forgotten the prose, turned them back again.

I also sometimes jumbled my collection of hints into confusion, and after some weeks endeavoured to reduce them into the best order before I began to form the full sentences and complete the subject. This was to teach me method in the arrangement of the thoughts. By comparing my work with the original, I discovered many faults, and corrected them; but I sometimes had the pleasure to fancy, that, in certain particulars of small consequence, I had been fortunate enough to improve the method or the language, and this encouraged me to think, that I might in time come to be a tolerable English writer; of which I was extremely ambitious. The time I allotted for writing exercises, and for reading, was at night, or before work began in the morning, or on Sundays, when I contrived to be in the printing-house, avoiding as much as I could the constant attendance at public worship, which my father used to exact of me when I was under his care, and which I still continued to consider a duty, though I could not afford time to practise it.

When about sixteen years of age, I happened to meet with a book, written by one Tryon, recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go into it. My brother, being yet unmarried, did not keep house, but boarded himself and his apprentices in another family.

My refusing to eat flesh occasioned an inconvenience, and I was frequently chid for my singularity. I made myself acquainted with Tryon's manner of preparing some of his dishes, such as boiling potatoes or rice, making hasty-pudding and a few others, and then proposed to my brother, that if he would give me weekly half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying of books; but I had another advantage in it. My brother and the rest going from the printing-house to their meals, I remained there alone, and, despatching presently my light repast (which was often no more than a biscuit, or a slice of bread, a handful of raisins, or a tart from the pastry cook's, and a glass of water), had the rest of the time, till their return, for study; in which I made the greater progress from that greater clearness of head, and quicker apprehension, which generally attend temperance in eating and drinking. Now it was, that, being on some occasion made ashamed of my ignorance in figures, which I had twice failed learning when at school, I took Cocker's book on Arithmetic, and went through the whole by myself with the greatest ease. I also read Seller's and Sturny's book on *Navigation*, which made me acquainted with the little geometry it contains, but I never proceeded far in that science. I read about this time Locke *on Human Understanding*, and *The Art of Thinking* by Messrs. de Port-Royal.

While I was intent on improving my language, I met with an English grammar (I think it was Greenwood's), having at the end of it two little sketches on the Arts of Rhetoric and Logic, the latter finishing with a dispute in the Socratic method. And, soon after, I

procured Xenophon's *Memorable Things of Socrates*, wherein there are many examples of the same method. I was charmed with it, adopted it, dropped my abrupt contradiction and positive argumentation, and put on the humble inquirer. And being then from reading Shaftesbury and Collins made a doubter, as I already was in many points of our religious doctrines, I found this method the safest for myself and very embarrassing to those against whom I used it; therefore I took delight in it, practised it continually, and grew very artful and expert in drawing people, even of superior knowledge, into concessions, the consequences of which they did not foresee, entangling them in difficulties, out of which they could not extricate themselves, and so obtaining victories, that neither myself nor my cause always deserved.

I continued this method some few years, but gradually left it, retaining only the habit of expressing myself in terms of modest diffidence, never using, when I advance any thing that may possibly be disputed, the words *certainly*, *undoubtedly*, or any others that give the air of positiveness to an opinion; but rather say, *I conceive*, or *apprehend*, a thing to be so and so; *It appears to me*, or *I should not think it, so or so, for such and such reasons;* or, *I imagine it to be so;* or, *It is so, if I am not mistaken.* This habit, I believe, has been of great advantage to me, when I have had occasion to inculcate my opinions, and persuade men into measures, that I have been from time to time engaged in promoting. And as the chief ends of conversation are to *inform* or to *be informed*, to *please* or to *persuade*, I wish well-meaning and sensible men would not lessen their power of doing good by a positive assuming manner, that seldom fails to disgust, tends to create opposition, and to defeat most

of those purposes for which speech was given to us. In fact, if you wish to instruct others, a positive dogmatical manner in advancing your sentiments may occasion opposition, and prevent a candid attention. If you desire instruction and improvement from others, you should not at the same time express yourself fixed in your present opinions. Modest and sensible men, who do not love disputation, will leave you undisturbed in the possession of your errors. In adopting such a manner, you can seldom expect to please your hearers, or obtain the concurrence you desire. Pope judiciously observes

"Men must be taught, as if you taught them not,
And things unknown proposed as things forgot."

He also recommends it to us

"To speak, though sure, with seeming diffidence."

And he might have joined with this line, that which he has coupled with another, I think, less properly,

"For want of modesty is want of sense."

If you ask, Why less properly? I must repeat the lines,

"Immodest words admit of no defence,
For want of modesty is want of sense."

Now, is not the *want of sense*, where a man is so unfortunate as to want it, some apology for his *want of modesty?* And would not the lines stand more justly thus?

"Immodest words admit *but* this defence,
That want of modesty is want of sense."

This, however, I should submit to better judgments.

My brother had, in 1720 or 1721, begun to print a newspaper. It was the second that appeared in America, and was called the *New England Courant.* The only one before it was the *Boston News-Letter.* I re-

member his being dissuaded by some of his friends from the undertaking, as not likely to succeed, one newspaper being in their judgment enough for America.* At this time, 1771, there are not less than five and twenty. He went on, however, with the undertaking. I was employed to carry the papers to the customers, after having worked in composing the types, and printing off the sheets.

He had some ingenious men among his friends, who amused themselves by writing little pieces for this paper, which gained it credit, and made it more in demand, and these gentlemen often visited us. Hearing their conversations, and their accounts of the approbation their papers were received with, I was excited to try my hand among them. But, being still a boy, and suspecting that my brother would object to printing any thing of mine in his paper, if he knew it to be mine, I contrived to disguise my hand, and, writing an anonymous paper, I put it at night under the door of the printing-house. It was found in the morning, and communicated to his writing friends when they called in as usual. They read it, commented on it in my hearing, and I had the exquisite pleasure of finding it met with their approbation, and that, in their different guesses at the author, none were named but

* This was written from recollection, and it is not surprising, that, after the lapse of fifty years, the author's memory should have failed him in regard to a fact of small importance. The *New England Courant* was the *fourth* newspaper that appeared in America. The first number of the *Boston News-Letter* was published April 24th, 1704. This was the first newspaper in America. The *Boston Gazette* commenced December 21st, 1719; the *American Weekly Mercury*, at Philadelphia, December 22d, 1719; the *New England Courant*, August 21st, 1721. Dr. Franklin's error of memory probably originated in the circumstance of his brother having been the printer of the *Boston Gazette*, when it was first established. This was the *second* newspaper published in America. — EDITOR.

men of some character among us for learning and ingenuity. I suppose, that I was rather lucky in my judges, and that they were not really so very good as I then believed them to be. Encouraged however by this attempt, I wrote and sent in the same way to the press several other pieces, that were equally approved; and I kept my secret till all my fund of sense for such performances was exhausted, and then discovered it, when I began to be considered a little more by my brother's acquaintance.

However, that did not quite please him, as he thought it tended to make me too vain. This might be one occasion of the differences we began to have about this time. Though a brother, he considered himself as my master, and me as his apprentice, and accordingly expected the same services from me as he would from another, while I thought he degraded me too much in some he required of me, who from a brother expected more indulgence. Our disputes were often brought before our father, and I fancy I was either generally in the right, or else a better pleader, because the judgment was generally in my favor. But my brother was passionate, and had often beaten me, which I took extremely amiss; and, thinking my apprenticeship very tedious, I was continually wishing for some opportunity of shortening it, which at length offered in a manner unexpected. Perhaps this harsh and tyrannical treatment of me might be a means of impressing me with the aversion to arbitrary power, that has stuck to me through my whole life.

One of the pieces in our newspaper on some political point, which I have now forgotten, gave offence to the Assembly. He was taken up, censured, and imprisoned for a month by the Speaker's warrant, I suppose because he would not discover the author. I too was

taken up and examined before the Council; but, though I did not give them any satisfaction, they contented themselves with admonishing me, and dismissed me, considering me perhaps as an apprentice, who was bound to keep his master's secrets. During my brother's confinement, which I resented a good deal notwithstanding our private differences, I had the management of the paper; and I made bold to give our rulers some rubs in it, which my brother took very kindly, while others began to consider me in an unfavorable light, as a youth that had a turn for libelling and satire.

My brother's discharge was accompanied with an order, and a very odd one, that "*James Franklin* should no longer print the newspaper, called *The New England Courant.*" On a consultation held in our printing-office amongst his friends, what he should do in this conjuncture, it was proposed to elude the order by changing the name of the paper. But my brother, seeing inconveniences in this, came to a conclusion, as a better way, to let the paper in future be printed in the name of *Benjamin Franklin;* and in order to avoid the censure of the Assembly, that might fall on him, as still printing it by his apprentice, he contrived and consented that my old indenture should be returned to me with a discharge on the back of it, to show in case of necessity; and, in order to secure to him the benefit of my service, I should sign new indentures for the remainder of my time, which were to be kept private. A very flimsy scheme it was; however, it was immediately executed, and the paper was printed accordingly, under my name, for several months.*

* The earlier numbers of the *New England Courant* were principally filled with original articles, in the form of essays, letters, and short paragraphs, written with considerable ability and wit, and touching with

At length, a fresh difference arising between my brother and me, I took upon me to assert my freedom; presuming that he would not venture to produce the new indentures. It was not fair in me to take this advantage, and this I therefore reckon one of the first *errata* of my life; but the unfairness of it weighed little with me when under the impressions of resentment for the blows his passion too often urged him to bestow upon me. Though he was otherwise not an ill natured man; perhaps I was too saucy and provoking.

When he found I would leave him, he took care to prevent my getting employment in any other printing-house of the town, by going round and speaking to every master, who accordingly refused to give me work.

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great freedom the vices and follies of the time. The weapon of satire was used with an unsparing hand. Neither the government nor the clergy escaped. Much caution was practised, however, in regard to individuals, and names were seldom introduced. There are some severe and humorous criticisms on the poets of the day, which may be classed with the best specimens of this kind of composition in the modern reviews. The humor sometimes degenerates into coarseness, and the phraseology is often harsh; but, bating these faults, the paper contains nothing, which in later times would have been deemed reprehensible. James Franklin, the editor and printer, was imprisoned on the general charge of having published passages "boldly reflecting on his Majesty's government and on the administration in this province, the ministry, churches, and college; and that tend to fill the readers' minds with vanity, to the dishonor of God and the disservice of good men." He was sentenced by a vote of the Assembly, without any specification of these offensive passages, or any trial before a court of justice.

This was probably the first transaction, in the American Colonies, relating to the freedom of the press; and it is not less remarkable for the assumption of power on the part of the legislature, than for their disregard of the first principles and established forms of law.

No change took place in the character of the paper, and six months afterwards, January, 1723, he was again arraigned upon a similar charge. The resentment of the ruling powers, stimulated by the clergy, had been gaining heat during the whole time, and now pushed them to more arbitrary measures. They condescended, however, to specify a particular article, as affording the ground of their proceedings. This was an essay on *Hypocrisy*, in which hypocrites of various descriptions were roughly

I then thought of going to New York, as the nearest place where there was a printer. And I was rather inclined to leave Boston, when I reflected, that I had already made myself a little obnoxious to the governing party, and, from the arbitrary proceedings of the Assembly in my brother's case, it was likely I might, if I stayed, soon bring myself into scrapes; and further, that my indiscreet disputations about religion began to make me pointed at with horror by good people, as an infidel and atheist. I concluded, therefore, to remove to New York; but my father now siding with my brother, I was sensible, that, if I attempted to go openly, means would be used to prevent me. My friend Collins, therefore, undertook to manage my flight. He agreed

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handled, but no individual or class of men was mentioned. The most objectionable paragraphs in this essay are the following.

"Religion is indeed the principal thing, but too much of it is worse than none at all. The world abounds with knaves and villains; but, of all knaves, the religious knave is the worst, and villanies acted under the cloak of religion the most execrable. Moral honesty, though it will not itself carry a man to heaven, yet I am sure there is no going thither without it."

"But are there such men as these in thee, O New England? Heaven forbid there should be any; but, alas, it is to be feared the number is not small. '*Give me an honest man*,' say some, '*for all a religious man;*' a distinction which I confess I never heard of before. The whole country suffers for the villanies of a few such wolves in sheep's clothing, and we are all represented as a pack of knaves and hypocrites for their sakes."

Sentiments like these were thought worthy of the high condemnation of the legislative Assembly, and the printer was again censured, without being tried by a judicial tribunal, and forbidden to publish any paper, or pamphlet, the contents of which had not been previously examined and approved by the Secretary of the province. The following comment on this act, contained in the Philadelphia *Mercury*, of February 26th, 1723, shows the indignation with which it was received in other parts of the country.

"My Lord Coke observes, that, *to punish first, and then inquire, the law abhors;* but here, Mr. Franklin has a severe sentence passed upon him, even to the taking away part of his livelihood, without being called to make an answer. An indifferent person would judge by this vote against

with the captain of a New York sloop to take me, under pretence of my being a young man of his acquaintance, that had an intrigue with a girl of bad character, whose parents would compel me to marry her, and that I could neither appear or come away publicly. I sold my books to raise a little money, was taken on board the sloop privately, had a fair wind, and in three days found myself at New York, near three hundred miles from my home, at the age of seventeen, (October, 1723), without the least recommendation, or knowledge of any person in the place, and very little money in my pocket.

Courant, that the Assembly of the province of Massachusetts Bay are made up of oppressors and bigots, who make religion the only engine of destruction to the people; and the rather, because the first letter in the *Courant*, of the 14th of January, which the Assembly censures, so naturally represents and exposes the hypocritical pretenders to religion. Indeed, the most famous politicians of that government (as the infamous Governor D——y and his family) have ever been remarkable for hypocrisy. And it is the general opinion, that some of their rulers are raised up and continued as a scourge in the hands of the Almighty for the sins of the people. Thus much we could not forbear saying, out of compassion to the distressed people of the province, who must now resign all pretences to sense and reason, and submit to the tyranny of priestcraft and hypocrisy.

"P. S. By private letters from Boston we are informed, that the bakers were under great apprehensions of being forbid baking any more bread, unless they will submit it to the Secretary, as supervisor-general and weigher of the dough, before it is baked into bread and offered to sale."

After this sentence, James Franklin ceased to affix his name to the *New England Courant*. In the number, dated February 11th, he said, "The late publisher of this paper, finding so many inconveniences would arise, by his carrying the manuscripts and the public news to be supervised by the Secretary, as to render his carrying it on unprofitable, has entirely dropped the undertaking." From this time the paper was published in the name of *Benjamin Franklin*; and although he remained in Boston only eight months afterwards, yet his name was continued as publisher for several years, and probably till the paper came to an end, in 1727. James Franklin removed soon after to Newport, where he established the *Rhode Island Gazette*, September, 1732. He died in February, 1735. — EDITOR.

CHAPTER II.

Journey to Philadelphia. — Adventure in a Boat. — Dr. Brown. — Burlington. — His first Appearance in Philadelphia. — Quaker Meeting. — Seeks for Employment as a Printer. — Commences Work in Keimer's Office. — Forms Acquaintances. — Patronized by Sir William Keith, Governor of Pennsylvania. — First Interview with him. — Keith proposes to set him up in Business. — Returns to Boston. — His Father disapproves Keith's Plan. — Voyage to New York. — Incident on the Passage from Newport. — Meets his Friend Collins in New York. — They go together to Philadelphia. — Collins's ill Conduct causes a Separation. — Keith insists on executing his original Plan, and proposes sending him to London to purchase Types. — Returns to the Use of animal Food. — Anecdotes of Keimer. — His Associates, Osborne, Watson, Ralph. — Their Exercises in Composition. — Resolves to visit England, as advised by Governor Keith.

THE inclination I had had for the sea was by this time done away, or I might now have gratified it. But having another profession, and conceiving myself a pretty good workman, I offered my services to a printer of the place, old Mr. William Bradford, who had been the first printer in Pennsylvania, but had removed thence, in consequence of a quarrel with the governor, George Keith. He could give me no employment, having little to do, and hands enough already; but he said, "My son at Philadelphia has lately lost his principal hand, Aquila Rose, by death; if you go thither, I believe he may employ you." Philadelphia was one hundred miles further; I set out however in a boat for Amboy, leaving my chest and things to follow me round by sea.

In crossing the bay, we met with a squall that tore our rotten sails to pieces, prevented our getting into the Kill, and drove us upon Long Island. In our way, a drunken Dutchman, who was a passenger too, fell overboard; when he was sinking, I reached through

the water to his shock pate, and drew him up, so that we got him in again. His ducking sobered him a little, and he went to sleep, taking first out of his pocket a book, which he desired I would dry for him. It proved to be my old favorite author, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, in Dutch, finely printed on good paper, copper cuts, a dress better than I had ever seen it wear in its own language. I have since found that it has been translated into most of the languages of Europe, and suppose it has been more generally read than any other book, except perhaps the Bible. Honest John was the first that I know of, who mixed narration and dialogue; a method of writing very engaging to the reader, who in the most interesting parts finds himself, as it were, admitted into the company and present at the conversation. Defoe has imitated him successfully in his *Robinson Crusoe*, in his *Moll Flanders*, and other pieces; and Richardson has done the same in his *Pamela*, &c.

On approaching the island, we found it was in a place where there could be no landing, there being a great surge on the stony beach. So we dropped anchor, and swung out our cable towards the shore. Some people came down to the shore, and hallooed to us, as we did to them; but the wind was so high, and the surge so loud, that we could not understand each other. There were some small boats near the shore, and we made signs, and called to them to fetch us; but they either did not comprehend us, or it was impracticable, so they went off. Night approaching, we had no remedy but to have patience till the wind abated; and in the mean time the boatman and myself concluded to sleep, if we could; and so we crowded into the hatches where we joined the Dutchman, who was still wet, and the spray, breaking over the head of

our boat, leaked through to us, so that we were soon almost as wet as he. In this manner we lay all night, with very little rest; but, the wind abating the next day, we made a shift to reach Amboy before night; having been thirty hours on the water, without victuals, or any drink but a bottle of filthy rum; the water we sailed on being salt.

In the evening I found myself very feverish, and went to bed; but, having read somewhere that cold water drunk plentifully was good for a fever, I followed the prescription, and swet plentifully most of the night. My fever left me, and in the morning, crossing the ferry, I proceeded on my journey on foot, having fifty miles to go to Burlington, where I was told I should find boats, that would carry me the rest of the way to Philadelphia.

It rained very hard all the day; I was thoroughly soaked, and by noon a good deal tired; so I stopped at a poor inn, where I stayed all night; beginning now to wish I had never left home. I made so miserable a figure, too, that I found, by the questions asked me, I was suspected to be some runaway indentured servant, and in danger of being taken up on that suspicion. However, I proceeded next day, and got in the evening to an inn, within eight or ten miles of Burlington, kept by one Dr. Brown. He entered into conversation with me while I took some refreshment, and, finding I had read a little, became very obliging and friendly. Our acquaintance continued all the rest of his life. He had been, I imagine, an ambulatory quack doctor, for there was no town in England, nor any country in Europe, of which he could not give a very particular account. He had some letters, and was ingenious, but he was an infidel, and wickedly undertook, some years after, to turn the Bible

into doggerel verse; as Cotton had formerly done with Virgil. By this means he set many facts in a ridiculous light, and might have done mischief with weak minds, if his work had been published; but it never was.

At his house I lay that night, and arrived the next morning at Burlington; but had the mortification to find, that the regular boats were gone a little before, and no other expected to go before Tuesday, this being Saturday. Wherefore I returned to an old woman in the town, of whom I had bought some gingerbread to eat on the water, and asked her advice. She proposed to lodge me, till a passage by some other boat occurred. I accepted her offer, being much fatigued by travelling on foot. Understanding I was a printer, she would have had me remain in that town and follow my business; being ignorant what stock was necessary to begin with. She was very hospitable, gave me a dinner of ox-cheek with great good will, accepting only of a pot of ale in return; and I thought myself fixed till Tuesday should come. However, walking in the evening by the side of the river, a boat came by, which I found was going towards Philadelphia with several people in her. They took me in, and, as there was no wind, we rowed all the way; and about midnight, not having yet seen the city, some of the company were confident we must have passed it, and would row no further; the others knew not where we were, so we put towards the shore, got into a creek, landed near an old fence, with the rails of which we made a fire, the night being cold, in October, and there we remained till daylight. Then one of the company knew the place to be Cooper's Creek, a little above Philadelphia, which we saw as soon as we got out of the Creek, and arrived there about eight or

nine o'clock on the Sunday morning, and landed at Market-street wharf.

I have been the more particular in this description of my journey, and shall be so of my first entry into that city, that you may in your mind compare such unlikely beginnings with the figure I have since made there. I was in my working dress, my best clothes coming round by sea. I was dirty from my being so long in the boat. My pockets were stuffed out with shirts and stockings, and I knew no one, nor where to look for lodging. Fatigued with walking, rowing, and the want of sleep, I was very hungry; and my whole stock of cash consisted in a single dollar, and about a shilling in copper coin, which I gave to the boatmen for my passage. At first they refused it, on account of my having rowed, but I insisted on their taking it. Man is sometimes more generous when he has little money, than when he has plenty; perhaps to prevent his being thought to have but little.

I walked towards the top of the street, gazing about till near Market Street, where I met a boy with bread. I had often made a meal of dry bread, and, inquiring where he had bought it, I went immediately to the baker's he directed me to. I asked for biscuits, meaning such as we had at Boston; that sort, it seems, was not made in Philadelphia, I then asked for a three-penny loaf, and was told they had none. Not knowing the different prices, nor the names of the different sorts of bread, I told him to give me three-penny worth of any sort. He gave me accordingly three great puffy rolls. I was surprised at the quantity, but took it, and, having no room in my pockets, walked off with a roll under each arm, and eating the other. Thus I went up Market Street as far as Fourth Street, passing by the door of Mr. Read, my future wife's

father; when she, standing at the door, saw me, and thought I made, as I certainly did, a most awkward, ridiculous appearance. Then I turned and went down Chestnut Street and part of Walnut Street, eating my roll all the way, and, coming round, found myself again at Market-street wharf, near the boat I came in, to which I went for a draught of the river water; and, being filled with one of my rolls, gave the other two to a woman and her child that came down the river in the boat with us, and were waiting to go farther.

Thus refreshed, I walked again up the street, which by this time had many clean-dressed people in it, who were all walking the same way. I joined them, and thereby was led into the great meetinghouse of the Quakers near the market. I sat down among them, and, after looking round a while and hearing nothing said, being very drowsy through labor and want of rest the preceding night, I fell fast asleep, and continued so till the meeting broke up, when some one was kind enough to rouse me. This, therefore, was the first house I was in, or slept in, in Philadelphia.

I then walked down towards the river, and looking in the faces of every one, I met a young Quaker man, whose countenance pleased me, and, accosting him, requested he would tell me where a stranger could get a lodging. We were then near the sign of the Three Mariners. "Here," said he, "is a house where they receive strangers, but it is not a reputable one; if thee wilt walk with me, I 'll show thee a better one;" and he conducted me to the Crooked Billet in Water Street. There I got a dinner; and while I was eating, several questions were asked me; as, from my youth and appearance, I was suspected of being a runaway.

After dinner my host having shown me to a bed, I laid myself on it without undressing, and slept till six

in the evening, when I was called to supper. I went to bed again very early, and slept very soundly till next morning. Then I dressed myself as neat as I could, and went to Andrew Bradford the printer's. I found in the shop the old man his father, whom I had seen at New York, and who, travelling on horseback, had got to Philadelphia before me. He introduced me to his son, who received me civilly, gave me a breakfast, but told me he did not at present want a hand, being lately supplied with one; but there was another printer in town, lately set up, one Keimer, who perhaps might employ me; if not, I should be welcome to lodge at his house, and he would give me a little work to do now and then, till fuller business should offer.

The old gentleman said he would go with me to the new printer; and when we found him, "Neighbour," said Bradford, "I have brought to see you a young man of your business; perhaps you may want such a one." He asked me a few questions, put a composing stick in my hand to see how I worked, and then said he would employ me soon, though he had just then nothing for me to do. And taking old Bradford, whom he had never seen before, to be one of the town's people that had a good will for him, entered into a conversation on his present undertaking and prospects; while Bradford, not discovering that he was the other printer's father, on Keimer's saying he expected soon to get the greatest part of the business into his own hands, drew him on by artful questions, and starting little doubts, to explain all his views, what influence he relied on, and in what manner he intended to proceed. I, who stood by and heard all, saw immediately that one was a crafty old sophister, and the other a true novice. Bradford left me with Keimer, who was greatly surprised when I told him who the old man was.

The printing-house, I found, consisted of an old, damaged press, and a small, worn-out fount of English types, which he was using himself, composing an *Elegy* on Aquila Rose, before mentioned; an ingenious young man, of excellent character, much respected in the town, secretary to the Assembly, and a pretty poet. Keimer made verses too, but very indifferently. He could not be said to *write* them, for his method was to compose them in the types directly out of his head. There being no copy, but one pair of cases, and the *Elegy* probably requiring all the letter, no one could help him. I endeavoured to put his press (which he had not yet used, and of which he understood nothing,) into order to be worked with; and, promising to come and print off his *Elegy*, as soon as he should have got it ready, I returned to Bradford's, who gave me a little job to do for the present, and there I lodged and dieted. A few days after, Keimer sent for me to print off the *Elegy*. And now he had got another pair of cases, and a pamphlet to reprint, on which he set me to work.

These two printers I found poorly qualified for their business. Bradford had not been bred to it, and was very illiterate; and Keimer, though something of a scholar, was a mere compositor, knowing nothing of presswork. He had been one of the French prophets, and could act their enthusiastic agitations. At this time he did not profess any particular religion, but something of all on occasion; was very ignorant of the world, and had, as I afterwards found, a good deal of the knave in his composition. He did not like my lodging at Bradford's while I worked with him. He had a house, indeed, but without furniture, so he could not lodge me; but he got me a lodging at Mr. Read's, before mentioned, who was the owner of his

house; and, my chest of clothes being come by this time, I made rather a more respectable appearance in the eyes of Miss Read, than I had done when she first happened to see me eating my roll in the street.

I began now to have some acquaintance among the young people of the town, that were lovers of reading, with whom I spent my evenings very pleasantly; and gained money by my industry and frugality. I lived very contented, and forgot Boston as much as I could, and did not wish it should be known where I resided, except to my friend Collins, who was in the secret, and kept it faithfully. At length, however, an incident happened, that occasioned my return home much sooner than I had intended. I had a brother-in-law, Robert Homes, master of a sloop that traded between Boston and Delaware. He being at Newcastle, forty miles below Philadelphia, and hearing of me, wrote me a letter mentioning the grief of my relations and friends in Boston at my abrupt departure, assuring me of their good will to me, and that every thing would be accommodated to my mind, if I would return; to which he entreated me earnestly. I wrote an answer to his letter, thanked him for his advice, but stated my reasons for quitting Boston so fully and in such a light, as to convince him that I was not so much in the wrong as he had apprehended.

Sir William Keith, Governor of the province, was then at Newcastle, and Captain Holmes, happening to be in company with him when my letter came to hand, spoke to him of me, and showed him the letter. The governor read it, and seemed surprised when he was told my age. He said I appeared a young man of promising parts, and therefore should be encouraged; the printers at Philadelphia were wretched ones; and, if I would set up there, he made no doubt I should

succeed; for his part he would procure me the public business, and do me every other service in his power. This my brother-in-law Homes afterwards told me in Boston; but I knew as yet nothing of it; when one day, Keimer and I being at work together near the window, we saw the Governor and another gentleman, (who proved to be Colonel French, of Newcastle, in the province of Delaware,) finely dressed; come directly across the street to our house, and heard them at the door.

Keimer ran down immediately, thinking it a visit to him; but the Governor inquired for me, came up, and with a condescension and politeness I had been quite unused to, made me many compliments, desired to be acquainted with me, blamed me kindly for not having made myself known to him, when I first came to the place, and would have me away with him to the tavern, where he was going with Colonel French to taste, as he said, some excellent madeira. I was not a little surprised, and Keimer stared with astonishment. I went however with the Governor and Colonel French to a tavern, at the corner of Third Street, and over the madeira he proposed my setting up my business. He stated the probabilities of my success, and both he and Colonel French assured me, I should have their interest and influence to obtain for me the public business of both governments. And as I expressed doubts that my father would assist me in it, Sir William said he would give me a letter to him, in which he would set forth the advantages, and he did not doubt he should determine him to comply. So it was concluded I should return to Boston by the first vessel, with the Governor's letter to my father. In the mean time it was to be kept a secret, and I went on working with Keimer as usual. The Governor sent for me now and

then to dine with him, which I considered a great honor; more particularly as he conversed with me in a most affable, familiar, and friendly manner.

About the end of April, 1724, a little vessel offered for Boston. I took leave of Keimer, as going to see my friends. The Governor gave me an ample letter, saying many flattering things of me to my father, and strongly recommending the project of my setting up at Philadelphia, as a thing that would make my fortune. We struck on a shoal in going down the bay, and sprung a leak; we had a blustering time at sea, and were obliged to pump almost continually, at which I took my turn. We arrived safe however at Boston in about a fortnight. I had been absent seven months, and my friends had heard nothing of me; for my brother Homes was not yet returned, and had not written about me. My unexpected appearance surprised the family; all were however very glad to see me, and made me welcome, except my brother. I went to see him at his printing-house. I was better dressed than ever while in his service, having a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and my pockets lined with near five pounds sterling in silver. He received me not very frankly, looked me all over, and turned to his work again.

The journeymen were inquisitive where I had been, what sort of a country it was, and how I liked it. I praised it much, and the happy life I led in it, expressing strongly my intention of returning to it; and, one of them asking what kind of money we had there, I produced a handful of silver, and spread it before them, which was a kind of *raree-show* they had not been used to, paper being the money of Boston. Then I took an opportunity of letting them see my watch; and lastly (my brother still grum and sullen) gave them

a dollar to drink, and took my leave. This visit of mine offended him extremely. For, when my mother some time after spoke to him of a reconciliation, and of her wish to see us on good terms together, and that we might live for the future as brothers; he said, I had insulted him in such a manner before his people, that he could never forget or forgive it. In this, however, he was mistaken.

My father received the Governor's letter with some surprise; but said little of it to me for some time. Captain Holmes returning, he showed it to him, and asked him, if he knew Sir William Keith, and what kind of man he was; adding that he must be of small discretion, to think of setting a youth up in business, who wanted three years to arrive at man's estate. Holmes said what he could in favor of the project, but my father was decidedly against it, and at last gave a flat denial. He wrote a civil letter to Sir William, thanking him for the patronage he had so kindly offered me, and declining to assist me as yet in setting up, I being in his opinion too young to be trusted with the management of an undertaking so important, and for which the preparation required a considerable expenditure.

My *old* companion Collins, who was a clerk in the postoffice, pleased with the account I gave him of my new country, determined to go thither also; and, while I waited for my father's determination, he set out before me by land to Rhode Island, leaving his books, which were a pretty collection in mathematics and natural philosophy, to come with mine and me to New York; where he proposed to wait for me.

My father, though he did not approve Sir William's proposition, was yet pleased that I had been able to obtain so advantageous a character from a person of

such note where I had resided; and that I had been so industrious and careful as to equip myself so handsomely in so short a time; therefore seeing no prospect of an accommodation between my brother and me, he gave his consent to my returning again to Philadelphia, advised me to behave respectfully to the people there, endeavour to obtain the general esteem, and avoid lampooning and libelling, to which he thought I had too much inclination; telling me, that by steady industry and prudent parsimony, I might save enough by the time I was one and twenty to set me up; and that if I came near the matter he would help me out with the rest. This was all I could obtain, except some small gifts as tokens of his and my mother's love, when I embarked again for New York; now with their approbation and their blessing.

The sloop putting in at Newport, Rhode Island, I visited my brother John, who had been married and settled there some years. He received me very affectionately, for he always loved me. A friend of his, one Vernon, having some money due to him in Pennsylvania, about thirty-five pounds currency, desired I would recover it for him, and keep it till I had his directions what to employ it in. Accordingly he gave me an order to receive it. This business afterwards occasioned me a good deal of uneasiness.

At Newport we took in a number of passengers, amongst whom were two young women travelling together, and a sensible, matron-like Quaker lady, with her servants. I had shown an obliging disposition to render her some little services, which probably impressed her with sentiments of good will towards me; for when she witnessed the daily growing familiarity between the young women and myself, which they appeared to encourage; she took me aside, and said,

"Young man, I am concerned for thee, as thou hast no friend with thee, and seems not to know much of the world, or of the snares youth is exposed to; depend upon it, these are very bad women; I can see it by all their actions; and if thee art not upon thy guard, they will draw thee into some danger; they are strangers to thee, and I advise thee, in a friendly concern for thy welfare, to have no acquaintance with them." As I seemed at first not to think so ill of them as she did, she mentioned some things she had observed and heard, that had escaped my notice, but now convinced me she was right. I thanked her for her kind advice, and promised to follow it. When we arrived at New York, they told me where they lived, and invited me to come and see them; but I avoided it, and it was well I did. For the next day the captain missed a silver spoon and some other things, that had been taken out of his cabin, and, knowing that these were a couple of strumpets, he got a warrant to search their lodgings, found the stolen goods, and had the thieves punished. So though we had escaped a sunken rock, which we scraped upon in the passage, I thought this escape of rather more importance to me.

At New York I found my friend Collins, who had arrived there some time before me. We had been intimate from children, and had read the same books together; but he had the advantage of more time for reading and studying, and a wonderful genius for mathematical learning, in which he far outstripped me. While I lived in Boston, most of my hours of leisure for conversation were spent with him, and he continued a sober as well as industrious lad; was much respected for his learning by several of the clergy and other gentlemen; and seemed to promise making a good

figure in life. But, during my absence, he had acquired a habit of drinking brandy; and I found by his own account, as well as that of others, that he had been drunk every day since his arrival at New York, and behaved himself in a very extravagant manner. He had gamed too and lost his money, so that I was obliged to discharge his lodgings, and defray his expenses on the road, and at Philadelphia; which proved a great burden to me.

The then governor of New York, Burnet, (son of Bishop Burnet,) hearing from the captain that one of the passengers had a great many books on board, desired him to bring me to see him. I waited on him, and should have taken Collins with me, had he been sober. The governor received me with great civility, showed me his library, which was a considerable one, and we had a good deal of conversation relative to books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honor to take notice of me; and for a poor boy, like me, it was very pleasing.

We proceeded to Philadelphia. I received in the way Vernon's money, without which we could hardly have finished our journey. Collins wished to be employed in some counting-house; but, whether they discovered his dram-drinking by his breath, or by his behaviour, though he had some recommendations, he met with no success in any application, and continued lodging and boarding at the same house with me, and at my expense. Knowing I had that money of Vernon's, he was continually borrowing of me, still promising repayment, as soon as he should be in business. At length he had got so much of it, that I was distressed to think what I should do, in case of being called on to remit it.

His drinking continued, about which we sometimes

quarrelled; for, when a little intoxicated, he was very irritable. Once in a boat on the Delaware with some other young men, he refused to row in his turn. "I will be rowed home," said he. "We will not row you," said I. "You must," said he, "or stay all night on the water, just as you please." The others said, "Let us row, what signifies it?" But, my mind being soured with his other conduct, I continued to refuse. So he swore he would make me row, or throw me overboard; and coming along stepping on the thwarts towards me, when he came up and struck at me, I clapped my head under his thighs, and, rising, pitched him head foremost into the river. I knew he was a good swimmer, and so was under little concern about him; but before he could get round to lay hold of the boat, we had with a few strokes pulled her out of his reach; and whenever he drew near the boat, we asked him if he would row, striking a few strokes to slide her away from him. He was ready to stifle with vexation, and obstinately would not promise to row. Finding him at last beginning to tire, we drew him into the boat, and brought him home dripping wet. We hardly exchanged a civil word after this adventure. At length a West India captain, who had a commission to procure a preceptor for the sons of a gentleman at Barbadoes, met with him, and proposed to carry him thither to fill that situation. He accepted, and promised to remit me what he owed me out of the first money he should receive; but I never heard of him after.

The violation of my trust respecting Vernon's money was one of the first great *errata* of my life; and this showed, that my father was not much out in his judgment, when he considered me as too young to manage business. But Sir William, on reading his letter, said

he was too prudent, that there was a great difference in persons; and discretion did not always accompany years, nor was youth always without it. "But, since he will not set you up, I will do it myself. Give me an inventory of the things necessary to be had from England, and I will send for them. You shall repay me when you are able; I am resolved to have a good printer here, and I am sure you must succeed." This was spoken with such an appearance of cordiality, that I had not the least doubt of his meaning what he said. I had hitherto kept the proposition of my setting up a secret in Philadelphia, and I still kept it. Had it been known that I depended on the Governor, probably some friend, that knew him better, would have advised me not to rely on him; as I afterwards heard it as his known character to be liberal of promises, which he never meant to keep. Yet, unsolicited as he was by me, how could I think his generous offers insincere? I believed him one of the best men in the world.

I presented him an inventory of a little printing-house, amounting by my computation to about one hundred pounds sterling. He liked it, but asked me if my being on the spot in England to choose the types, and see that every thing was good of the kind, might not be of some advantage. "Then," said he, "when there, you may make acquaintance, and establish correspondences in the bookselling and stationery line." I agreed that this might be advantageous. "Then," said he, "get yourself ready to go with *Annis;*" which was the annual ship, and the only one at that time usually passing between London and Philadelphia. But as it would be some months before *Annis* sailed, I continued working with Keimer, fretting extremely about the money Collins had got from me,

and in great apprehensions of being called upon for it by Vernon; this however did not happen for some years after.

I believe I have omitted mentioning, that in my first voyage from Boston to Philadelphia, being becalmed off Block Island, our crew employed themselves in catching cod, and hauled up a great number. Till then, I had stuck to my resolution to eat nothing that had had life; and on this occasion I considered, according to my master Tryon, the taking every fish as a kind of unprovoked murder, since none of them had, nor could do us any injury that might justify this massacre. All this seemed very reasonable. But I had been formerly a great lover of fish, and, when it came out of the fryingpan, it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and inclination, till recollecting, that, when the fish were opened, I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I, "If you eat one another, I don't see why we may not eat you." So I dined upon cod very heartily, and have since continued to eat as other people; returning only now and then occasionally to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a *reasonable creature*, since it enables one to find or make a *reason* for every thing one has a mind to do.

Keimer and I lived on a pretty good familiar footing, and agreed tolerably well; for he suspected nothing of my setting up. He retained a great deal of his old enthusiasm, and loved argumentation. We therefore had many disputations. I used to work him so with my Socratic method, and had trepanned him so often by questions apparently so distant from any point we had in hand, yet by degrees leading to the point and bringing him into difficulties and contradictions, that at last he grew ridiculously cautious, and would hardly

answer me the most common question, without asking first, "What do you intend to infer from that?" However, it gave him so high an opinion of my abilities in the confuting way, that he seriously proposed my being his colleague in a project he had of setting up a new sect. He was to preach the doctrines, and I was to confound all opponents. When he came to explain with me upon the doctrines, I found several conundrums which I objected to, unless I might have my way a little too, and introduce some of mine.

Keimer wore his beard at full length, because somewhere in the Mosaic law it is said, "*Thou shalt not mar the corners of thy beard.*" He likewise kept the Seventh day, Sabbath; and these two points were essential with him. I disliked both; but agreed to them on condition of his adopting the doctrine of not using animal food. "I doubt," said he, "my constitution will not bear it." I assured him it would, and that he would be the better for it. He was usually a great eater, and I wished to give myself some diversion in half starving him. He consented to try the practice, if I would keep him company. I did so, and we held it for three months. Our provisions were purchased, cooked, and brought to us regularly by a woman in the neighbourhood, who had from me a list of forty dishes, which she prepared for us at different times, in which there entered neither fish, flesh, nor fowl. This whim suited me the better at this time from the cheapness of it, not costing us above eighteen pence sterling each per week. I have since kept several lents most strictly, leaving the common diet for that, and that for the common, abruptly, without the least inconvenience. So that I think there is little in the advice of making those changes by easy gradations. I went on pleasantly, but poor Keimer suffered grievously, grew tired

of the project, longed for the fleshpots of Egypt, and ordered a roast pig. He invited me and two women friends to dine with him; but, it being brought too soon upon table, he could not resist the temptation, and ate the whole before we came.

I had made some courtship during this time to Miss Read. I had a great respect and affection for her, and had some reasons to believe she had the same for me; but, as I was about to take a long voyage, and we were both very young, only a little above eighteen, it was thought most prudent by her mother, to prevent our going too far at present; as a marriage, if it was to take place, would be more convenient after my return, when I should be, as I hoped, set up in my business. Perhaps too she thought my expectations not so well founded as I imagined them to be.

My chief acquaintances at this time were Charles Osborne, Joseph Watson, and James Ralph; all lovers of reading. The two first were clerks to an eminent scrivener or conveyancer in the town, Charles Brockden, the other was a clerk to a merchant. Watson was a pious, sensible young man, of great integrity; the others rather more lax in their principles of religion, particularly Ralph, who, as well as Collins, had been unsettled by me; for which they both made me suffer. Osborne was sensible, candid, frank; sincere and affectionate to his friends; but, in literary matters, too fond of criticism. Ralph was ingenious, genteel in his manners, and extremely eloquent; I think I never knew a prettier talker. Both were great admirers of poetry, and began to try their hands in little pieces. Many pleasant walks we have had together on Sundays in the woods, on the banks of the Schuylkill, where we read to one another, and conferred on what we had read.

Ralph was inclined to give himself up entirely to poetry, not doubting that he might make great proficiency in it, and even make his fortune by it. He pretended, that the greatest poets must, when they first began to write, have committed as many faults as he did. Osborne endeavoured to dissuade him, assured him he had no genius for poetry, and advised him to think of nothing beyond the business he was bred to; that, in the mercantile way, though he had no stock, he might by his diligence and punctuality recommend himself to employment as a factor, and in time acquire wherewith to trade on his own account. I approved for my part the amusing one's self with poetry now and then, so far as to improve one's language, but no farther.

On this it was proposed, that we should each of us at our next meeting produce a piece of our own composing, in order to improve by our mutual observations, criticisms, and corrections. As language and expression were what we had in view, we excluded all considerations of invention, by agreeing that the task should be a version of the eighteenth Psalm, which describes the descent of a Deity. When the time of our meeting drew nigh, Ralph called on me first, and let me know his piece was ready. I told him, I had been busy, and, having little inclination, had done nothing. He then showed me his piece for my opinion, and I much approved it, as it appeared to me to have great merit. "Now," said he, "Osborne never will allow the least merit in any thing of mine, but makes a thousand criticisms out of mere envy. He is not so jealous of you; I wish therefore you would take this piece and produce it as yours; I will pretend not to have had time, and so produce nothing. We shall then hear what he will say to it." It was

agreed, and I immediately transcribed it, that it might appear in my own hand.

We met; Watson's performance was read; there were some beauties in it, but many defects. Osborne's was read; it was much better; Ralph did it justice; remarked some faults, but applauded the beauties. He himself had nothing to produce. I was backward, seemed desirous of being excused, had not had sufficient time to correct, &c.; but no excuse could be admitted; produce I must. It was read and repeated; Watson and Osborne gave up the contest; and joined in applauding it. Ralph only made some criticisms, and proposed some amendments; but I defended my text. Osborne was severe against Ralph, and told me he was no better able to criticize than compose verses. As these two were returning home, Osborne expressed himself still more strongly in favor of what he thought my production; having before refrained, as he said, lest I should think he meant to flatter me. "But who would have imagined," said he, "that Franklin was capable of such a performance; such painting, such force, such fire! He has even improved on the original. In common conversation he seems to have no choice of words; he hesitates and blunders; and yet, good God, how he writes!" When we next met, Ralph discovered the trick we had played, and Osborne was laughed at.

This transaction fixed Ralph in his resolution of becoming a poet. I did all I could to dissuade him from it, but he continued scribbling verses till Pope cured him. He became however a pretty good prose writer. More of him hereafter.* But, as I may not

* Ralph obtained much celebrity as a political and historical writer. He also wrote poetry and plays, but with less success. He published "Night," a poem; and another poem, called "Sawney." In this latter he

have occasion to mention the other two, I shall just remark here, that Watson died in my arms a few years after, much lamented, being the best of our set. Osborne went to the West Indies, where he became an eminent lawyer and made money, but died young. He and I had made a serious agreement, that the one, who happened first to die, should, if possible, make a friendly visit to the other, and acquaint him how he found things in that separate state. But he never fulfilled his promise.

The Governor, seeming to like my company, had me frequently at his house, and his setting me up was always mentioned as a fixed thing. I was to take with me letters recommendatory to a number of his friends, besides the letter of credit to furnish me with the necessary money for purchasing the press, types, paper, &c. For these letters I was appointed to call at different times, when they were to be ready; but a future time was still named. Thus we went on till

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abused Swift, Pope, and Gay. In revenge Pope introduced his name into the DUNCIAD.

> "Silence, ye wolves, while Ralph to Cynthia howls,
> And makes *Night* hideous; answer him, ye owls."

He wrote a much approved work, entitled "Use and Abuse of Parliaments"; and also a "History of England during the Reign of William the Third," in two folio volumes. Alluding to this work, Fox pronounces the author "a historian of great acuteness, as well as diligence, but who falls sometimes into the common error of judging by the event." Ralph produced also many political pamphlets, and was employed by the ministry at different times to promote their aims with his pen. For these services he was pensioned. He was deeply skilled in the party tactics of politicians, and his principles were so flexible, that he made little difficulty in adapting them to circumstances. For many years, however, he was the confidential associate of the ministers and courtiers; and, just before his death, his pension was increased by the interest of the Earl of Bute to the liberal amount of six hundred pounds a year. He died, January 24th, 1762. An account of his life and writings is contained in CHALMERS's *Biographical Dictionary*. — EDITOR.

the ship, whose departure too had been several times postponed, was on the point of sailing. Then, when I called to take my leave and receive the letters, his secretary, Dr. Baird, came out to me and said the Governor was extremely busy in writing, but would be down at Newcastle before the ship, and then the letters would be delivered to me.

Ralph, though married, and having one child, had determined to accompany me in this voyage. It was thought he intended to establish a correspondence, and obtain goods to sell on commission; but I found after, that, having some cause of discontent with his wife's relations, he proposed to leave her on their hands, and never to return to America. Having taken leave of my friends, and exchanged promises with Miss Read, I quitted Philadelphia, in the ship, which anchored at Newcastle. The Governor was there; but when I went to his lodging, his secretary came to me from him with expressions of the greatest regret, that he could not then see me, being engaged in business of the utmost importance; but that he would send the letters to me on board, wishing me heartily a good voyage and a speedy return, &c. I returned on board a little puzzled, but still not doubting.

CHAPTER III.

Sails for London, accompanied by Ralph. — On his Arrival delivers Letters supposed to be written by the Governor. — Discovers that Keith had deceived him. — His Money exhausted. — Engages to work as a Printer at Palmer's, in Bartholomew Close. — Writes and prints a metaphysical Tract. — Frequents a Club, consisting of Dr. Mandeville and Others. — Disagreement with Ralph and Separation. — Removes to Watts's Printing-house, near Lincoln's Inn Fields. — Habits of the Workmen. — His Expenses of Living. — Feats of Activity in Swimming. — Enters into Mercantile Business with Mr. Denham. — Sir William Wyndham.

Mr. Andrew Hamilton, a celebrated lawyer of Philadelphia, had taken his passage in the same ship for himself and son, with Mr. Denham, a Quaker merchant, and Messrs. Oniam and Russel, masters of an iron work in Maryland, who had engaged the great cabin; so that Ralph and I were forced to take up with a berth in the steerage, and, none on board knowing us, were considered as ordinary persons. But Mr. Hamilton and his son (it was James, since Governor,) returned from Newcastle to Philadelphia; the father being recalled by a great fee to plead for a seized ship. And, just before we sailed, Colonel French coming on board, and showing me great respect, I was more taken notice of, and, with my friend Ralph, invited by the other gentlemen to come into the cabin, there being now room. Accordingly we removed thither.

Understanding that Colonel French had brought on board the Governor's despatches, I asked the captain for those letters that were to be under my care. He said all were put into the bag together; and he could not then come at them; but, before we landed in England, I should have an opportunity of picking them out; so I was satisfied for the present, and we proceeded

on our voyage. We had a sociable company in the cabin, and lived uncommonly well, having the addition of all Mr. Hamilton's stores, who had laid in plentifully. In this passage Mr. Denham contracted a friendship for me, that continued during his life. The voyage was otherwise not a pleasant one, as we had a great deal of bad weather.

When we came into the Channel, the captain kept his word with me, and gave me an opportunity of examining the bag for the Governor's letters. I found some upon which my name was put as under my care. I picked out six or seven, that, by the handwriting, I thought might be the promised letters, especially as one of them was addressed to Baskett, the King's printer, and another to some stationer. We arrived in London the 24th December, 1724. I waited upon the stationer, who came first in my way, delivering the letter as from Governor Keith. "I don't know such a person," said he; but, opening the letter, "O! this is from Riddlesden. I have lately found him to be a complete rascal, and I will have nothing to do with him, nor receive any letters from him." So putting the letter into my hand, he turned on his heel and left me to serve some customer. I was surprised to find these were not the Governor's letters; and, after recollecting and comparing circumstances, I began to doubt his sincerity. I found my friend Denham, and opened the whole affair to him. He let me into Keith's character, told me there was not the least probability that he had written any letters for me; that no one, who knew him, had the smallest dependence on him; and he laughed at the idea of the Governor's giving me a letter of credit, having, as he said, no credit to give. On my expressing some concern about what I should do, he advised me to endeavour get-

ting some employment in the way of my business. "Among the printers here," said he, "you will improve yourself, and, when you return to America, you will set up to greater advantage."

We both of us happened to know, as well as the stationer, that Riddlesden, the attorney, was a very knave. He had half ruined Miss Read's father, by persuading him to be bound for him. By his letter it appeared there was a secret scheme on foot to the prejudice of Mr. Hamilton (supposed to be then coming over with us); that Keith was concerned in it with Riddlesden. Denham, who was a friend of Hamilton's, thought he ought to be acquainted with it; so, when he arrived in England, which was soon after, partly from resentment and ill will to Keith and Riddlesden, and partly from good will to him, I waited on him, and gave him the letter. He thanked me cordially, the information being of importance to him; and from that time he became my friend, greatly to my advantage afterwards on many occasions.

But what shall we think of a governor playing such pitiful tricks, and imposing so grossly on a poor ignorant boy! It was a habit he had acquired. He wished to please everybody; and, having little to give, he gave expectations. He was otherwise an ingenious, sensible man, a pretty good writer, and a good governor for the people; though not for his constituents, the Proprietaries, whose instructions he sometimes disregarded. Several of our best laws were of his planning, and passed during his administration.

Ralph and I were inseparable companions. We took lodgings together in Little Britain at three shillings and sixpence a week; as much as we could then afford. He found some relations, but they were poor, and unable to assist him. He now let me know his inten-

tions of remaining in London, and that he never meant to return to Philadelphia. He had brought no money with him; the whole he could muster having been expended in paying his passage. I had fifteen pistoles; so he borrowed occasionally of me to subsist, while he was looking out for business. He first endeavoured to get into the playhouse, believing himself qualified for an actor; but Wilkes,* to whom he applied, advised him candidly not to think of that employment, as it was impossible he should succeed in it. Then he proposed to Roberts, a publisher in Pater Noster Row, to write for him a weekly paper like the *Spectator*, on certain conditions; which Roberts did not approve. Then he endeavoured to get employment as a hackney writer, to copy for the stationers and lawyers about the Temple; but could not find a vacancy.

For myself, I immediately got into work at Palmer's, a famous printing-house in Bartholomew Close, where I continued near a year. I was pretty diligent, but I spent with Ralph a good deal of my earnings at plays and public amusements. We had nearly consumed all my pistoles, and now just rubbed on from hand to mouth. He seemed quite to have forgotten his wife and child; and I by degrees my engagements with Miss Read, to whom I never wrote more than one letter, and that was to let her know I was not likely soon to return. This was another of the great *errata* of my life, which I could wish to correct, if I were to live it over again. In fact, by our expenses, I was constantly kept unable to pay my passage.

At Palmer's I was employed in composing for the second edition of Wollaston's "*Religion of Nature.*" Some of his reasonings not appearing to me well found-

* A comedian of eminence.

ed, I wrote a little metaphysical piece in which I made remarks on them. It was entitled, "*A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain.*" I inscribed it to my friend Ralph; I printed a small number. It occasioned my being more considered by Mr. Palmer, as a young man of some ingenuity, though he seriously expostulated with me upon the principles of my pamphlet, which to him appeared abominable. My printing this pamphlet was another *erratum.* While I lodged in Little Britain, I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller, whose shop was next door. He had an immense collection of secondhand books. Circulating libraries were not then in use; but we agreed, that, on certain reasonable terms, which I have now forgotten, I might take, read, and return any of his books. This I esteemed a great advantage, and I made as much use of it as I could.

My pamphlet by some means falling into the hands of one Lyons, a surgeon, author of a book entitled, "*The Infallibility of Human Judgment,*" it occasioned an acquaintance between us. He took great notice of me, called on me often to converse on those subjects, carried me to the Horns, a pale alehouse in —— Lane, Cheapside, and introduced me to Dr. Mandeville, author of the "*Fable of the Bees,*" who had a club there, of which he was the soul; being a most facetious, entertaining companion. Lyons too introduced me to Dr. Pemberton, at Batson's Coffee-house, who promised to give me an opportunity, some time or other, of seeing Sir Isaac Newton, of which I was extremely desirous; but this never happened.

I had brought over a few curiosities, among which the principal was a purse made of the *asbestos,* which purifies by fire. Sir Hans Sloane heard of it, came to see me, and invited me to his house in Bloomsbury

Square, showed me all his curiosities, and persuaded me to add that to the number; for which he paid me handsomely.

In our house lodged a young woman, a milliner, who, I think, had a shop in the Cloisters. She had been genteelly bred, was sensible, lively, and of a most pleasing conversation. Ralph read plays to her in the evenings, they grew intimate, she took another lodging, and he followed her. They lived together some time; but, he being still out of business, and her income not sufficient to maintain them with her child, he took a resolution of going from London, to try for a country school, which he thought himself well qualified to undertake, as he wrote an excellent hand, and was a master of arithmetic and accounts. This however he deemed a business below him, and, confident of future better fortune, when he should be unwilling to have it known that he once was so meanly employed, he changed his name, and did me the honor to assume mine; for I soon after had a letter from him, acquainting me that he was settled in a small village (in Berkshire, I think it was, where he taught reading and writing to ten or a dozen boys, at sixpence each per week), recommending Mrs. T—— to my care, and desiring me to write to him, directing for *Mr. Franklin*, schoolmaster, at such a place.

He continued to write to me frequently, sending me large specimens of an epic poem, which he was then composing, and desiring my remarks and corrections. These I gave him from time to time, but endeavoured rather to discourage his proceeding. One of Young's Satires was then just published. I copied and sent him a great part of it, which set in a strong light the folly of pursuing the Muses. All was in vain; sheets of the poem continued to come by every post. In the

mean time, Mrs. T——, having on his account lost her friends and business, was often in distresses, and used to send for me, and borrow what money I could spare to help to alleviate them. I grew fond of her company, and, being at that time under no religious restraint, and taking advantage of my importance to her, I attempted to take some liberties with her (another *erratum*), which she repulsed, with a proper degree of resentment. She wrote to Ralph and acquainted him with my conduct; this occasioned a breach between us; and, when he returned to London, he let me know he considered all the obligations he had been under to me as annulled; from which I concluded I was never to expect his repaying the money I had lent him, or that I had advanced for him. This however was of little consequence, as he was totally unable; and by the loss of his friendship I found myself relieved from a heavy burden. I now began to think of getting a little beforehand, and, expecting better employment, I left Palmer's to work at Watts's, near Lincoln's Inn Fields, a still greater printing-house. Here I continued all the rest of my stay in London.

At my first admission into the printing-house I took to working at press, imagining I felt a want of the bodily exercise I had been used to in America, where presswork is mixed with the composing. I drank only water; the other workmen, near fifty in number, were great drinkers of beer. On occasion I carried up and down stairs a large form of types in each hand, when others carried but one in both hands. They wondered to see, from this and several instances, that the *Water-American*, as they called me, was *stronger* than themselves, who drank *strong* beer! We had an alehouse boy, who attended always in the house to supply the workmen. My companion at the press drank every

day a pint before breakfast, a pint at breakfast with his bread and cheese, a pint between breakfast and dinner; a pint at dinner, a pint in the afternoon about six o'clock, and another when he had done his day's work. I thought it a detestable custom; but it was necessary, he supposed, to drink *strong* beer that he might be *strong* to labor. I endeavoured to convince him, that the bodily strength afforded by beer could only be in proportion to the grain or flour of the barley dissolved in the water of which it was made; that there was more flour in a pennyworth of bread; and therefore, if he could eat that with a pint of water, it would give him more strength than a quart of beer. He drank on however, and had four or five shillings to pay out of his wages every Saturday night for that vile liquor; an expense I was free from. And thus these poor devils keep themselves always under.

Watts, after some weeks, desiring to have me in the composing-room, I left the pressmen; a new *bien venu* for drink, being five shillings, was demanded of me by the compositors. I thought it an imposition, as I had paid one to the pressmen; the master thought so too, and forbade my paying it. I stood out two or three weeks, was accordingly considered as an excommunicate, and had so many little pieces of private malice practised on me, by mixing my sorts, transposing and breaking my matter, &c. &c., if ever I stepped out of the room; and all ascribed to the *chapel ghost*, which they said ever haunted those not regularly admitted; that, notwithstanding the master's protection, I found myself obliged to comply and pay the money; convinced of the folly of being on ill terms with those one is to live with continually.

I was now on a fair footing with them, and soon acquired considerable influence. I proposed some rea-

sonable alterations in their *chapel** laws, and carried them against all opposition. From my example, a great many of them left their muddling breakfast of beer, bread, and cheese, finding they could with me be supplied from a neighbouring house, with a large porringer of hot water-gruel, sprinkled with pepper, crumbled with bread, and a bit of butter in it, for the price of a pint of beer, viz. three halfpence. This was a more comfortable as well as a cheaper breakfast, and kept their heads clearer. Those, who continued sotting with their beer all day, were often, by not paying, out of credit at the alehouse, and used to make interest with me to get beer; their *light*, as they phrased it, *being out*. I watched the pay-table on Saturday night, and collected what I stood engaged for them, having to pay sometimes near thirty shillings a week on their accounts. This, and my being esteemed a pretty good *riggite*, that is a jocular verbal satirist, supported my consequence in the society. My constant attendance (I never making a *St. Monday*) recommended me to the master; and my uncommon quickness at composing occasioned my being put upon work of despatch, which was generally better paid. So I went on now very agreeably.

My lodgings in Little Britain being too remote, I found another in Duke Street, opposite to the Romish Chapel. It was up three pair of stairs backwards, at an Italian warehouse. A widow lady kept the house; she had a daughter, and a maid servant, and a journeyman who attended the warehouse, but lodged abroad. After sending to inquire my character at the house where I last lodged, she agreed to take me in at the same rate, three shillings and sixpence a week; cheaper, as she said, from the protection she expected in

* A printing-house is called a *chapel* by the workmen.

having a man to lodge in the house. She was a widow, an elderly woman; had been bred a Protestant, being a clergyman's daughter, but was converted to the Catholic religion by her husband, whose memory she much revered; had lived much among people of distinction, and knew a thousand anecdotes of them as far back as the time of Charles the Second. She was lame in her knees with the gout, and therefore seldom stirred out of her room; so sometimes wanted company; and hers was so highly amusing to me, that I was sure to spend an evening with her whenever she desired it. Our supper was only half an anchovy each, on a very little slice of bread and butter, and half a pint of ale between us; but the entertainment was in her conversation. My always keeping good hours, and giving little trouble in the family, made her unwilling to part with me; so that, when I talked of a lodging I had heard of, nearer my business, for two shillings a week, which, intent as I was on saving money, made some difference, she bid me not think of it, for she would abate me two shillings a week for the future; so I remained with her at one shilling and sixpence as long as I stayed in London.

In a garret of her house there lived a maiden lady of seventy, in the most retired manner, of whom my landlady gave me this account; that she was a Roman Catholic, had been sent abroad when young, and lodged in a nunnery with an intent of becoming a nun; but, the country not agreeing with her, she returned to England, where, there being no nunnery, she had vowed to lead the life of a nun, as near as might be done in those circumstances. Accordingly she had given all her estate to charitable purposes, reserving only twelve pounds a year to live on, and out of this sum she still gave a part in charity, living her-

self on water-gruel only, and using no fire but to boil it. She had lived many years in that garret, being permitted to remain there gratis by successive Catholic tenants of the house below, as they deemed it a blessing to have her there. A priest visited her, to confess her every day. "From this I asked her," said my landlady, "how she, as she lived, could possibly find so much employment for a confessor?" "Oh," said she, "it is impossible to avoid *vain thoughts.*" I was permitted once to visit her. She was cheerful and polite, and conversed pleasantly. The room was clean, but had no other furniture than a mattress, a table with a crucifix, and a book, a stool which she gave me to sit on, and a picture over the chimney of St. Veronica displaying her handkerchief, with the miraculous figure of Christ's bleeding face on it, which she explained to me with great seriousness. She looked pale, but was never sick; and I give it as another instance, on how small an income life and health may be supported.

At Watts's printing-house I contracted an acquaintance with an ingenious young man, one Wygate, who, having wealthy relations, had been better educated than most printers; was a tolerable Latinist, spoke French, and loved reading. I taught him and a friend of his to swim, at twice going into the river, and they soon became good swimmers. They introduced me to some gentlemen from the country, who went to Chelsea by water, to see the College and Don Saltero's curiosities. In our return, at the request of the company, whose curiosity Wygate had excited, I stripped and leaped into the river, and swam from near Chelsea to Blackfriars; performing in the way many feats of activity, both upon and under the water, that surprised and pleased those to whom they were novelties.

I had from a child been delighted with this exer-

cise, had studied and practised Thevenot's motions and positions, and added some of my own, aiming at the graceful and easy, as well as the useful.* All these I took this occasion of exhibiting to the company, and was much flattered by their admiration; and Wygate, who was desirous of becoming a master, grew more and more attached to me on that account, as well as from the similarity of our studies. He at length proposed to me travelling all over Europe together, supporting ourselves everywhere by working at our business. I was once inclined to it; but, mentioning it to my good friend Mr. Denham, with whom I often spent an hour when I had leisure, he dissuaded me from it; advising me to think only of returning to Pennsylvania, which he was now about to do.

I must record one trait of this good man's character. He had formerly been in business at Bristol, but failed in debt to a number of people, compounded, and went to America. There, by a close application to business as a merchant, he acquired a plentiful fortune in a few years. Returning to England in the ship with me, he invited his old creditors to an entertainment, at which he thanked them for the easy composition they had favored him with, and, when they expected nothing but the treat, every man at the first remove found under his plate an order on a banker for the full amount of the unpaid remainder, with interest.

He now told me, he was about to return to Philadelphia, and should carry over a great quantity of goods in order to open a store there. He proposed to take me over as his clerk, to keep his books, in

* He wrote two interesting papers on the art of swimming. See Vol. VI. pp. 286, 290. — Editor.

which he would instruct me, copy his letters, and attend the store. He added, that, as soon as I should be acquainted with mercantile business, he would promote me by sending me with a cargo of flour and bread to the West Indies, and procure me commissions from others which would be profitable; and, if I managed well, would establish me handsomely. The thing pleased me; for I was grown tired of London, remembered with pleasure the happy months I had spent in Pennsylvania, and wished again to see it. Therefore I immediately agreed on the terms of fifty pounds a year, Pennsylvania money; less indeed than my then present gettings as a compositor, but affording a better prospect.

I now took leave of printing, as I thought, for ever, and was daily employed in my new business, going about with Mr. Denham among the tradesmen to purchase various articles, and see them packed up, delivering messages, calling upon workmen to despatch, &c.; and, when all was on board, I had a few days' leisure. On one of these days, I was, to my surprise, sent for by a great man I knew only by name, Sir William Wyndham, and I waited upon him. He had heard by some means or other of my swimming from Chelsea to Blackfriars, and of my teaching Wygate and another young man to swim in a few hours. He had two sons, about to set out on their travels; he wished to have them first taught swimming, and proposed to gratify me handsomely if I would teach them. They were not yet come to town, and my stay was uncertain; so I could not undertake it. But from the incident I thought it likely, that if I were to remain in England and open a swimming-school, I might get a good deal of money; and it struck me so strongly, that, had the overture been made me sooner, probably I should not so soon have returned to America. Many

years after, you and I had something of more importance to do with one of these sons of Sir William Wyndham, become Earl of Egremont, which I shall mention in its place.

Thus I passed about eighteen months in London; most part of the time I worked hard at my business, and spent but little upon myself except in seeing plays, and in books. My friend Ralph had kept me poor; he owed me about twenty-seven pounds, which I was now never likely to receive; a great sum out of my small earnings! I loved him, notwithstanding, for he had many amiable qualities. I had improved my knowledge, however, though I had by no means improved my fortune; but I had made some very ingenious acquaintance, whose conversation was of great advantage to me; and I had read considerably.

CHAPTER IV.

Voyage from London to Philadelphia. — His mercantile Plans defeated by the Death of Mr. Denham. — Accepts an Offer from Keimer to superintend his Printing Establishment. — Description of the Workmen in the Printing-house. — Resolves to separate from Keimer, and commence Business on his own Account. — Engraves the Plates for Paper Money in New Jersey, and prints the Bills. — His Views of Religion. — Account of his London Pamphlet. — A New Version of the Lord's Prayer, with Explanatory Remarks. — Forms a Partnership with Hugh Meredith in the Printing Business.

We sailed from Gravesend on the 23d of July, 1726. For the incidents of the voyage, I refer you to my Journal,* where you will find them all minutely related. Perhaps the most important part of that journal is the *plan* † to be found in it, which I formed at sea, for regulating the future conduct of my life. It is the more remarkable, as being formed when I was so young, and yet being pretty faithfully adhered to quite through to old age.

We landed at Philadelphia the 11th of October, where I found sundry alterations. Keith was no longer governor, being superseded by Major Gordon; I met him walking the streets as a common citizen. He seemed a little ashamed at seeing me, and passed without saying any thing. I should have been as much ashamed at seeing Miss Read, had not her friends, despairing with reason of my return, after the receipt of my letter, persuaded her to marry another, one Rogers, a potter, which was done in my absence. With him, however, she was never happy, and soon

* See Appendix, No. II.

† This *plan* does not exist in the manuscript Journal found among Dr. Franklin's papers; which appears, by a note thereon, to be a "*copy made at Reading, in Pennsylvania, October 2d*, 1787." — W. T. F.

parted from him, refusing to cohabit with him, or bear his name, it being now said he had another wife. He was a worthless fellow, though an excellent workman, which was the temptation to her friends. He got into debt, ran away in 1727 or 1728, went to the West Indies, and died there. Keimer had got a better house, a shop well supplied with stationery, plenty of new types, and a number of hands, though none good, and seemed to have a great deal of business.

Mr. Denham took a store in Water Street, where we opened our goods; I attended the business diligently, studied accounts, and grew in a little time expert at selling. We lodged and boarded together; he counselled me as a father, having a sincere regard for me. I respected and loved him, and we might have gone on together very happily; but, in the beginning of February, 1727, when I had just passed my twenty-first year, we both were taken ill. My distemper was a pleurisy, which very nearly carried me off. I suffered a good deal, gave up the point in my own mind, and was at the time rather disappointed when I found myself recovering; regretting, in some degree, that I must now, some time or other, have all that disagreeable work to go over again. I forget what Mr. Denham's distemper was; it held him a long time, and at length carried him off. He left me a small legacy in a nuncupative will, as a token of his kindness for me, and he left me once more to the wide world; for the store was taken into the care of his executors, and my employment under him ended.

My brother-in-law, Holmes, being now at Philadelphia, advised my return to my business; and Keimer tempted me, with an offer of large wages by the year, to come and take the management of his printing-house, that he might better attend to his stationer's

shop. I had heard a bad character of him in London, from his wife and her friends, and was not for having any more to do with him. I wished for employment as a merchant's clerk; but, not meeting with any, I closed again with Keimer. I found in his house these hands; Hugh Meredith, a Welsh Pennsylvanian, thirty years of age, bred to country work; he was honest, sensible, a man of experience, and fond of reading, but addicted to drinking. Stephen Potts, a young countryman of full age, bred to the same, of uncommon natural parts, and great wit and humor; but a little idle. These he had agreed with at extreme low wages per week, to be raised a shilling every three months, as they would deserve by improving in their business; and the expectation of these high wages, to come on hereafter, was what he had drawn them in with. Meredith was to work at press, Potts at bookbinding, which he by agreement was to teach them, though he knew neither one nor the other. John ——, a wild Irishman, brought up to no business, whose service, for four years, Keimer had purchased from the captain of a ship; he too was to be made a pressman. George Webb, an Oxford scholar, whose time for four years he had likewise bought, intending him for a compositor, of whom more presently; and David Harry, a country boy, whom he had taken apprentice.

I soon perceived, that the intention of engaging me at wages, so much higher than he had been used to give, was, to have these raw, cheap hands formed through me; and, as soon as I had instructed them, they being all articled to him, he should be able to do without me. I went however very cheerfully, put his printing-house in order, which had been in great confusion, and brought his hands by degrees to mind their business and to do it better.

It was an odd thing to find an Oxford scholar in the situation of a bought servant. He was not more than eighteen years of age, and he gave me this account of himself; that he was born in Gloucester, educated at a grammar school, and had been distinguished among the scholars for some apparent superiority in performing his part, when they exhibited plays; belonged to the Wits' Club there, and had written some pieces in prose and verse, which were printed in the Gloucester newspapers. Thence was sent to Oxford; there he continued about a year, but not well satisfied; wishing of all things to see London, and become a player. At length receiving his quarterly allowance of fifteen guineas, instead of discharging his debts, he went out of town, hid his gown in a furze bush, and walked to London; where, having no friend to advise him, he fell into bad company, soon spent his guineas, found no means of being introduced among the players, grew necessitous, pawned his clothes, and wanted bread. Walking the street very hungry, not knowing what to do with himself, a crimp's bill was put into his hand, offering immediate entertainment and encouragement to such as would bind themselves to serve in America. He went directly, signed the indentures, was put into the ship, and came over; never writing a line to his friends to acquaint them what was become of him. He was lively, witty, good-natured, and a pleasant companion; but idle, thoughtless, and imprudent to the last degree.

John, the Irishman, soon ran away; with the rest I began to live very agreeably, for they all respected me the more, as they found Keimer incapable of instructing them, and that from me they learned something daily. My acquaintance with ingenious people in the town increased. We never worked on Saturday, that

being Keimer's Sabbath, so that I had two days for reading. Keimer himself treated me with great civility and apparent regard, and nothing now made me uneasy but my debt to Vernon, which I was yet unable to pay, being hitherto but a poor economist. He however kindly made no demand of it.

Our printing-house often wanted sorts, and there was no letter-foundery in America; I had seen types cast at James's in London, but without much attention to the manner; however, I contrived a mould, and made use of the letters we had as puncheons, struck the matrices in lead, and thus supplied in a pretty tolerable way all deficiencies. I also engraved several things on occasion; made the ink; I was warehouse-man, and in short, quite a *fac-totum*.

But, however serviceable I might be, I found that my services became every day of less importance, as the other hands improved in their business; and, when Keimer paid me a second quarter's wages, he let me know that he felt them too heavy, and thought I should make an abatement. He grew by degrees less civil, put on more the airs of master, frequently found fault, was captious, and seemed ready for an outbreaking. I went on nevertheless with a good deal of patience, thinking that his incumbered circumstances were partly the cause. At length a trifle snapped our connexion; for, a great noise happening near the court-house, I put my head out of the window to see what was the matter. Keimer, being in the street, looked up and saw me, called out to me in a loud voice and angry tone, to mind my business; adding some reproachful words, that nettled me the more for their publicity; all the neighbours who were looking out on the same occasion being witnesses how I was treated. He came up immediately into the printing-house, con-

tinued the quarrel, high words passed on both sides, he gave me the quarter's warning we had stipulated, expressing a wish that he had not been obliged to so long a warning. I told him his wish was unnecessary, for I would leave him that instant; and so taking my hat walked out of doors, desiring Meredith, whom I saw below, to take care of some things I left, and bring them to my lodgings.

Meredith came accordingly in the evening, when we talked my affair over. He had conceived a great regard for me, and was very unwilling that I should leave the house while he remained in it. He dissuaded me from returning to my native country, which I began to think of; he reminded me, that Keimer was in debt for all he possessed, that his creditors began to be uneasy; that he kept his shop miserably, sold often without a profit for ready money, and often trusted without keeping accounts; that he must therefore fail, which would make a vacancy I might profit of. I objected my want of money. He then let me know, that his father had a high opinion of me, and, from some discourse that had passed between them, he was sure would advance money to set me up, if I would enter into partnership with him. "My time," said he, "will be out with Keimer in the spring; by that time we may have our press and types in from London. I am sensible I am no workman; if you like it, your skill in the business shall be set against the stock I furnish, and we will share the profits equally."

The proposal was agreeable to me, and I consented; his father was in town and approved of it; the more as he said I had great influence with his son, had prevailed on him to abstain long from dram-drinking, and he hoped might break him of that wretched habit entirely, when we came to be so closely connected.

I gave an inventory to the father, who carried it to a merchant; the things were sent for, the secret was to be kept till they should arrive, and in the mean time I was to get work, if I could, at the other printing-house. But I found no vacancy there, and so remained idle a few days, when Keimer, on a prospect of being employed to print some paper money in New Jersey, which would require cuts and various types, that I only could supply, and apprehending Bradford might engage me and get the job from him, sent me a very civil message, that old friends should not part for a few words, the effect of sudden passion, and wishing me to return. Meredith persuaded me to comply, as it would give more opportunity for his improvement under my daily instructions; so I returned, and we went on more smoothly than for some time before. The New Jersey job was obtained, I contrived a copper-plate press for it, the first that had been seen in the country; I cut several ornaments and checks for the bills. We went together to Burlington, where I executed the whole to satisfaction; and he received so large a sum for the work as to be enabled thereby to keep himself longer from ruin.

At Burlington I made acquaintance with many principal people of the province. Several of them had been appointed by the Assembly a committee to attend the press, and take care that no more bills were printed than the law directed. They were therefore by turns constantly with us, and generally he who attended brought with him a friend or two for company. My mind having been much more improved by reading than Keimer's, I suppose it was for that reason my conversation seemed to be more valued. They had me to their houses, introduced me to their friends, and showed me much civility; while he, though the

master, was a little neglected. In truth, he was an odd creature; ignorant of common life, fond of rudely opposing received opinions, slovenly to extreme dirtiness, enthusiastic in some points of religion, and a little knavish withal.

We continued there near three months; and by that time I could reckon among my acquired friends, Judge Allen, Samuel Bustill, the Secretary of the Province, Isaac Pearson, Joseph Cooper, and several of the Smiths, members of Assembly, and Isaac Decow, the Surveyor-General. The latter was a shrewd, sagacious old man, who told me, that he began for himself when young by wheeling clay for the brickmakers, learned to write after he was of age, carried the chain for surveyors, who taught him surveying, and he had now by his industry acquired a good estate; and said he, "I foresee, that you will soon work this man out of his business, and make a fortune in it at Philadelphia." He had then not the least intimation of my intention to set up there or anywhere. These friends were afterwards of great use to me, as I occasionally was to some of them. They all continued their regard for me as long as they lived.

Before I enter upon my public appearance in business, it may be well to let you know the then state of my mind, with regard to my principles and morals, that you may see how far those influenced the future events of my life. My parents had early given me religious impressions, and brought me through my childhood piously in the Dissenting way. But I was scarce fifteen, when, after doubting by turns several points, as I found them disputed in the different books I read, I began to doubt of the Revelation itself. Some books against Deism fell into my hands; they were said to be the substance of the sermons, which had been

preached at Boyle's Lectures. It happened, that they wrought an effect on me quite contrary to what was intended by them. For the arguments of the Deists, which were quoted to be refuted, appeared to me much stronger than the refutations; in short, I soon became a thorough Deist. My arguments perverted some others, particularly Collins and Ralph; but, each of these having wronged me greatly without the least compunction, and recollecting Keith's conduct towards me, (who was another freethinker,) and my own towards Vernon and Miss Read, which at times gave me great trouble; I began to suspect that this doctrine, though it might be true, was not very useful. My London pamphlet, printed in 1725,* which had for its motto these lines of Dryden;

> "Whatever is, is right. But purblind man
> Sees but a part o' the chain, the nearest links;
> His eyes not carrying to that equal beam,
> That poises all above;"

and which from the attributes of God, his infinite wisdom, goodness, and power, concluded that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world; and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing; appeared now not so clever a performance as I once

* Dr. Franklin, in a letter to Benjamin Vaughan, dated November 9th, 1779, gives a further account of this pamphlet in these words.

"It was addressed to Mr. J. R., that is, James Ralph, then a youth of about my age, and my intimate friend; afterwards a political writer and historian. The purport of it was to prove the doctrine of fate, from the supposed attributes of God; in some such manner as this. That in erecting and governing the world, as he was infinitely wise, he knew what would be best; infinitely good, he must be disposed, and infinitely powerful, he must be able, to execute it. Consequently *all is right.*

"There were only a hundred copies printed, of which I gave a few to friends; and afterwards disliking the piece, as conceiving it might have an ill tendency, I burnt the rest, except one copy, the margin of which was filled with manuscript notes by Lyons, author of the *Infallibility of Human Judgment*, who was at that time another of my acquaint-

thought it; and I doubted whether some error had not insinuated itself unperceived into my argument, so as to infect all that followed, as is common in metaphysical reasonings.

I grew convinced, that *truth*, *sincerity*, and *integrity*, in dealings between man and man, were of the utmost importance to the felicity of life; and I formed written resolutions, which still remain in my journal book, to practise them ever while I lived.* Revelation had indeed no weight with me, as such; but I entertained an opinion, that, though certain actions might not be bad, *because* they were forbidden by it, or good *because* it commanded them; yet probably those actions might be forbidden *because* they were bad for us, or commanded *because* they were beneficial to us, in their own natures, all the circumstances of things considered. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favorable circumstances and situations, or all together, preserved me, through this dangerous time of youth, and the hazardous situations I was sometimes in among strangers, remote from the eye and advice of my father, free from any *wilful* gross immorality or injustice, that

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ance in London. I was not nineteen years of age when it was written. In 1730, I wrote a piece on the other side of the question, which began with laying for its foundation this fact; '*That almost all men in all ages and countries have at times made use of* PRAYER.' Thence I reasoned, that, if all things are ordained, prayer must among the rest be ordained. But, as prayer can procure no change in things that are ordained, praying must then be useless, and an absurdity. God would therefore not ordain praying if every thing else was ordained. But praying exists, therefore all other things are not ordained, &c. This pamphlet was never printed, and the manuscript has been long lost. The great uncertainty I found in metaphysical reasonings disgusted me, and I quitted that kind of reading and study for others more satisfactory." — W. T. F.

* See *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion*, Vol. II. p. 1.

Among Franklin's papers I have found a curious manuscript in his handwriting, which contains a new version of the Lord's Prayer. The

might have been expected from my want of religion. I say *wilful*, because the instances I have mentioned had something of *necessity* in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others. I had therefore a tolerable character to begin the world with; I valued it properly, and determined to preserve it.

We had not been long returned to Philadelphia, before the new types arrived from London. We settled with Keimer, and left him by his consent before he heard of it. We found a house to let near the Market, and took it. To lessen the rent, which was then but twenty-four pounds a year, though I have

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condition and appearance of the manuscript prove it to have been an early performance, but its precise date is not known. The form in which it is written is here preserved. — EDITOR.

THE LORD'S PRAYER.

OLD VERSION.	NEW VERSION, BY B. FRANKLIN.
1. Our Father which art in heaven,	1. Heavenly Father,
2. Hallowed be thy name.	2. May all revere thee,
3. Thy kingdom come,	3. And become thy dutiful children and faithful subjects.
4. Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.	4. May thy laws be obeyed on earth, as perfectly as they are in heaven.
5. Give us this day our daily bread.	5. Provide for us this day, as thou hast hitherto daily done.
6. Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.	6. Forgive us our trespasses, and enable us to forgive those who offend us.
7. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.	7. Keep us out of temptation, and deliver us from evil.

REASONS FOR THE CHANGE OF EXPRESSION.

OLD VERSION. — *Our Father which art in Heaven.*

NEW VERSION. — *Heavenly Father* is more concise, equally expressive, and better modern English.

OLD VERSION. — *Hallowed be thy name.* This seems to relate to an observance among the Jews not to pronounce the proper or peculiar name of God, they deeming it a profanation so to do. We have in our language no *proper name* for God; the word *God* being a common, or general name, expressing all chief objects of worship, true or false. The

since known it to let for seventy, we took in Thomas Godfrey, a glazier, and his family, who were to pay a considerable part of it to us, and we to board with them. We had scarce opened our letters and put our press in order, before George House, an acquaintance of mine, brought a countryman to us, whom he had met in the street, inquiring for a printer. All our cash was now expended in the variety of particulars we had been obliged to procure, and this countryman's five shillings, being our first-fruits, and coming so seasonably, gave me more pleasure than any crown I have since earned; and the gratitude I felt towards

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word *hallowed* is almost obsolete. People now have but an imperfect conception of the meaning of the petition. It is therefore proposed to change the expression into

NEW VERSION. — *May all revere thee.*

OLD VERSION. — *Thy kingdom come.* This petition seems suited to the then condition of the Jewish nation. Originally their state was a theocracy; God was their king. Dissatisfied with that kind of government, they desired a visible, earthly king, in the manner of the nations around them. They had such kings accordingly; but their happiness was not increased by the change, and they had reason to wish and pray for a return of the theocracy, or government of God. Christians in these times have other ideas, when they speak of the kingdom of God, such as are perhaps more adequately expressed by the

NEW VERSION. — *Become thy dutiful children and faithful subjects.*

OLD VERSION. — *Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven;* more explicitly

NEW VERSION. — *May thy laws be obeyed on earth, as perfectly as they are in heaven.*

OLD VERSION. — *Give us this day our daily bread.* — Give us what is *ours* seems to put in a claim of right, and to contain too little of the grateful acknowledgment and sense of dependence that become creatures, who live on the daily bounty of their Creator. Therefore it is changed to

NEW VERSION. — *Provide for us this day, as thou hast hitherto daily done.*

OLD VERSION. — *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.* (Matthew). *Forgive us our sins, for we also forgive every one that is indebted to us.* (Luke). Offerings were *due* to God on many occasions by the Jewish law, which, when people could not pay, or had forgotten, as debtors are apt to do, it was proper to pray that those debts might be

House has made me often more ready, than perhaps I otherwise should have been, to assist young beginners.

There are croakers in every country, always boding its ruin. Such a one there lived in Philadelphia; a person of note, an elderly man, with a wise look and a very grave manner of speaking; his name was Samuel Mickle. This gentleman, a stranger to me, stopped me one day at my door, and asked me if I was the young man, who had lately opened a new printing-house? Being answered in the affirmative, he said he was sorry for me, because it was an expensive undertaking, and the expense would be lost; for Philadelphia was a sinking place, the people already half bankrupts, or

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forgiven. Our Liturgy uses neither the *debtors* of Matthew, nor the *indebted* of Luke, but instead of them speaks of *those that trespass against us*. Perhaps the considering it as a Christian duty to forgive debtors was by the compilers thought an inconvenient idea in a trading nation. There seems, however, something presumptuous in this mode of expression, which has the air of proposing ourselves as an example of goodness fit for God to imitate. *We hope you will at least be as good as we are;* you see we forgive one another, and therefore we pray that you would forgive us. Some have considered it in another sense. *Forgive us as we forgive others.* That is, if we do not forgive others, we pray that thou wouldst not forgive us. But this, being a kind of conditional *imprecation* against ourselves, seems improper in such a prayer; and therefore it may be better to say humbly and modestly

New version.—*Forgive us our trespasses, and enable us likewise to forgive those who offend us.* This, instead of assuming that we have already in and of ourselves the grace of forgiveness, acknowledges our dependence on God, the Fountain of Mercy, for any share we may have of it, praying that he would communicate it to us.

Old version.—*And lead us not into temptation.* The Jews had a notion, that God sometimes tempted, or directed, or permitted, the tempting of people. Thus it was said, he tempted Pharaoh, directed Satan to tempt Job, and a false Prophet to tempt Ahab. Under this persuasion, it was natural for them to pray, that he would not put them to such severe trials. We now suppose that temptation, so far as it is supernatural, comes from the Devil only; and this petition continued conveys a suspicion, which, in our present conceptions, seems unworthy of God; therefore it might be altered to

New version.—*Keep us out of temptation.*

near being so; all the appearances of the contrary, such as new buildings and the rise of rents, being to his certain knowledge fallacious; for they were in fact among the things that would ruin us. Then he gave me such a detail of misfortunes now existing, or that were soon to exist, that he left me half melancholy. Had I known him before I engaged in this business, probably I never should have done it. This person continued to live in this decaying place, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house there, because all was going to destruction; and at last I had the pleasure of seeing him give five times as much for one, as he might have bought it for when he first began croaking.

CHAPTER V.

The Junto. — Description of its original Members. — Franklin writes the "Busy Body." — Establishes a Newspaper. — Partnership with Meredith dissolved. — Writes a Tract on the Necessity of a Paper Currency. —Opens a Stationer's Shop. — His Habits of Industry and Frugality. — Courtship. — Marriage.

I SHOULD have mentioned before, that, in the autumn of the preceding year, I had formed most of my ingenious acquaintance into a club for mutual improvement, which we called the JUNTO; we met on Friday evenings. The rules that I drew up required, that every member in his turn should produce one or more queries on any point of Morals, Politics, or Natural Philosophy, to be discussed by the company; and once in three months produce and read an essay of his own writing, on any subject he pleased. Our debates were to be under the direction of a president, and to be conducted in the sincere spirit of inquiry after truth, without fondness for dispute, or desire of victory; and, to prevent warmth, all expressions of positiveness in opinions, or direct contradiction, were after some time made contraband, and prohibited under small pecuniary penalties.

The first members were Joseph Breintnal, a copier of deeds for the scriveners, a good-natured, friendly, middle-aged man, a great lover of poetry, reading all he could meet with, and writing some that was tolerable; very ingenious in making little nicknackeries, and of sensible conversation.

Thomas Godfrey, a self-taught mathematician, great in his way, and afterwards inventor of what is now

called *Hadley's Quadrant.** But he knew little out of his way, and was not a pleasing companion; as, like most great mathematicians I have met with, he expected universal precision in every thing said, or was for ever denying or distinguishing upon trifles, to the disturbance of all conversation. He soon left us.

Nicholas Scull, a surveyor, afterwards surveyor-general, who loved books, and sometimes made a few verses.

William Parsons, bred a shoemaker, but, loving reading, had acquired a considerable share of mathematics, which he first studied with a view to astrology, and afterwards laughed at it. He also became surveyor-general.

William Maugridge, joiner, but a most exquisite mechanic, and a solid, sensible man.

Hugh Meredith, Stephen Potts, and George Webb, I have characterized before.

Robert Grace, a young gentleman of some fortune, generous, lively, and witty; a lover of punning and of his friends.

Lastly, William Coleman, then a merchant's clerk, about my age, who had the coolest, clearest head, the best heart, and the exactest morals, of almost any man I ever met with. He became afterwards a merchant of great note, and one of our provincial judges. Our friendship continued without interruption to his death, upwards of forty years; and the club continued almost as long, and was the best school of philosophy, morality, and politics, that then existed in the province; for our queries, which were read the week preceding their discussion, put us upon reading with attention on

* Godfrey's claims to this invention are fully explained and confirmed in MILLER's *Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, Vol. I. pp. 468–480.

the several subjects, that we might speak more to the purpose; and here too we acquired better habits of conversation, every thing being studied in our rules, which might prevent our disgusting each other. Hence the long continuance of the club, which I shall have frequent occasion to speak further of hereafter.*

But my giving this account of it here, is to show something of the interest I had, every one of these exerting themselves in recommending business to us. Breintnal particularly procured us from the Quakers the printing of forty sheets of their history, the rest being to be done by Keimer; and upon these we worked exceedingly hard, for the price was low. It was a folio, *pro patriâ* size, in pica, with long primer notes. I composed a sheet a day, and Meredith worked it off at press; it was often eleven at night, and sometimes later, before I had finished my distribution for the next day's work. For the little jobs sent in by our other friends now and then put us back. But, so determined I was to continue doing a sheet a day of the folio, that one night, when, having imposed my forms, I thought my day's work over, one of them by accident was broken, and two pages reduced to *pie*. I immediately distributed, and composed it over again before I went to bed; and this industry, visible to our neighbours, began to give us character and credit; particularly I was told, that mention being made of the new printing-office, at the merchants' every-night club, the general opinion was that it must fail, there being

* For other particulars about the Junto, see Vol. II. pp. 9, 551.

Mr. Roberts Vaux read a paper to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in February, 1835, in which he mentions an additional list of members, who belonged subsequently to the Junto. Their names are Hugh Roberts, Philip Syng, Enoch Flower, Joseph Wharton, William Griffith, Luke Morris, Joseph Turner, Joseph Shippen, Joseph Trotter, Samuel Jervis, and Samuel Rhoads. — Editor.

already two printers in the place, Keimer and Bradford; but Dr. Baird (whom you and I saw many years after at his native place, St. Andrew's in Scotland) gave a contrary opinion; "For the industry of that Franklin," said he, "is superior to any thing I ever saw of the kind; I see him still at work when I go home from club, and he is at work again before his neighbours are out of bed." This struck the rest, and we soon after had offers from one of them to supply us with stationery; but as yet we did not choose to engage in shop business.

I mention this industry more particularly and the more freely, though it seems to be talking in my own praise, that those of my posterity, who shall read it, may know the use of that virtue, when they see its effects in my favor throughout this relation.

George Webb, who had found a female friend that lent him wherewith to purchase his time of Keimer, now came to offer himself as a journeyman to us. We could not then employ him; but I foolishly let him know as a secret, that I soon intended to begin a newspaper, and might then have work for him. My hopes of success, as I told him, were founded on this; that the then only newspaper, printed by Bradford, was a paltry thing, wretchedly managed, no way entertaining, and yet was profitable to him; I therefore freely thought a good paper would scarcely fail of good encouragement. I requested Webb not to mention it; but he told it to Keimer, who immediately, to be beforehand with me, published proposals for one himself, on which Webb was to be employed. I was vexed at this; and, to counteract them, not being able to commence our paper, I wrote several amusing pieces for Bradford's paper, under the title of the Busy Body which Breintnal

continued some months.* By this means the attention of the public was fixed on that paper, and Keimer's proposals, which we burlesqued and ridiculed, were disregarded. He began his paper, however; and, before carrying it on three quarters of a year, with at most only ninety subscribers, he offered it me for a trifle; and I, having been ready some time to go on with it, took it in hand directly; and it proved in a few years extremely profitable to me.†

I perceive that I am apt to speak in the singular number, though our partnership still continued; it may be, that in fact the whole management of the business lay upon me. Meredith was no compositor, a poor pressman, and seldom sober. My friends lamented my connexion with him, but I was to make the best of it.

Our first papers made quite a different appearance

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* See Vol. II. p. 13–45.

† It was called the *Pennsylvania Gazette.* Franklin and Meredith began the paper with No. 40, September 25th, 1729.

A characteristic anecdote has been related of Franklin, illustrative of his independence as an editor. Soon after the establishment of his newspaper, he found occasion to remark with some degree of freedom on the public conduct of one or two persons of high standing in Philadelphia. This course was disapproved by some of his patrons, who sought an opportunity to convey to him their views of the subject, and what they represented to be the opinion of his friends. He listened patiently, and replied by requesting that they would favor him with their company at supper, and bring with them the other gentlemen, who had expressed dissatisfaction. The time arrived, and the guests assembled. He received them cordially, and listened again to their friendly reproofs of his editorial conduct. At length supper was announced; but, when the guests had seated themselves around the table, they were surprised to see nothing before them but two puddings, made of coarse meal, called *sawdust puddings* in the common phrase, and a stone pitcher filled with water. He helped them all, and then applied himself to his own plate, partaking freely of the repast, and urging his friends to do the same. They taxed their politeness to the utmost, but all in vain; their appetites refused obedience to the will. Perceiving their difficulty, Franklin at last arose and said, "*My friends, any one who can subsist upon sawdust pudding and water, as I can, needs no man's patronage.*" — EDITOR.

from any before in the province; a better type, and better printed; but some remarks * of my writing, on the dispute then going on between Governor Burnet, and the Massachusetts Assembly, struck the principal people, occasioned the paper and the manager of it to be much talked of, and in a few weeks brought them all to be our subscribers.

Their example was followed by many, and our number went on growing continually. This was one of the first good effects of my having learned a little to scribble; another was, that the leading men, seeing a newspaper now in the hands of those who could also handle a pen, thought it convenient to oblige and en-

* These remarks are in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for October 2d, 1729, and are as follows.

"His Excellency, Governor Burnet, died unexpectedly about two days after the date of this reply to his last message; and it was thought the dispute would have ended with him, or at least have lain dormant till the arrival of a new governor from England, who possibly might or might not be inclined to enter too vigorously into the measures of his predecessor. But our last advices by the post acquaint us, that his Honor, the Lieutenant-Governor, on whom the government immediately devolves upon the death or absence of the Commander-in-chief, has vigorously renewed the struggle on his own account, of which the particulars will be seen in our next.

"Perhaps some of our readers may not fully understand the original ground of this warm contest between the Governor and Assembly. It seems *that* people have for these hundred years past enjoyed the privilege of rewarding the governor for the time being, according to *their sense* of his merit and services; and few or none of their governors have complained, or had cause to complain, of a scanty allowance. When the late Governor Burnet brought with him instructions to demand a *settled salary* of one thousand pounds sterling per annum, on him and all his successors, and the Assembly were required to fix it immediately, he insisted on it strenuously to the last, and they as constantly refused it. It appears by their votes and proceedings, that they thought it an imposition, contrary to their own charter, and to *Magna Charta;* and they judged that there should be a mutual dependence between the *governor* and *governed;* and that to make the governor independent would be dangerous and destructive to their liberties, and the ready way to establish tyranny. They thought, likewise, that the province was not the less dependent on the crown of Great Britain, by the governor's depend-

courage me. Bradford still printed the votes, and laws, and other public business. He had printed an address of the House to the Governor, in a coarse, blundering manner; we reprinted it elegantly and correctly, and sent one to every member. They were sensible of the difference, it strengthened the hands of our friends in the House, and they voted us their printers for the year ensuing.

Among my friends in the House, I must not forget Mr. Hamilton, before mentioned, who was then returned from England, and had a seat in it. He interested himself for me strongly in that instance, as he did in many others afterwards, continuing his patronage till his death.*

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ing immediately on them and his own good conduct for an ample support; because all acts and laws, which he might be induced to pass, must nevertheless be constantly sent home for approbation in order to continue in force. Many other reasons were given, and arguments used, in the course of the controversy, needless to particularize here, because all the material papers relating to it have been already given in our public news.

"Much deserved praise has the deceased governor received for his steady integrity in adhering to his instructions, notwithstanding the great difficulty and opposition he met with, and the strong temptations offered from time to time to induce him to give up the point. And yet, perhaps, something is due to the Assembly, (as the love and zeal of that country for the present establishment is too well known to suffer any suspicion of want of loyalty,) who continue thus resolutely to abide by what *they think* their right, and that of the people they represent; maugre all the arts and menaces of a governor famed for his cunning and politics, backed with instructions from home, and powerfully aided by the great advantage such an officer always has of engaging the principal men of a place in his party, by conferring where he pleases so many posts of profit and honor. Their happy mother country will perhaps observe with pleasure, that though her gallant cocks and matchless dogs abate their natural fire and intrepidity, when transported to a foreign clime, (as this nation is,) yet her SONS in the remotest part of the earth, and even to the third and fourth descent, still retain that ardent spirit of liberty, and that undaunted courage, which have in every age so gloriously distinguished BRITONS and ENGLISHMEN from the rest of mankind." — W. T. F.

* I afterwards obtained for his son *five hundred pounds.*

Mr. Vernon, about this time, put me in mind of the debt I owed him, but did not press me. I wrote to him an ingenuous letter of acknowledgment, craving his forbearance a little longer, which he allowed me. As soon as I was able, I paid the principal with the interest, and many thanks; so that *erratum* was in some degree corrected.*

But now another difficulty came upon me, which I had never the least reason to expect. Mr. Meredith's father, who was to have paid for our printing-house, according to the expectations given me, was able to advance only one hundred pounds currency, which had been paid; and a hundred more were due to the merchant, who grew impatient and sued us all. We gave bail, but saw that, if the money could not be raised in time, the suit must soon come to a judgment and execution, and our hopeful prospects must, with us, be ruined; as the press and letters must be sold for payment, perhaps at half price.

In this distress two true friends, whose kindness I have never forgotten, nor ever shall forget while I can remember any thing, came to me separately, unknown to each other, and, without any application from me, offered each of them to advance me all the money that should be necessary to enable me to take the whole business upon myself, if that should be practicable; but they did not like my continuing the partnership with Meredith; who, as they said, was often seen drunk in the street, playing at low games in alehouses, much to our discredit. These two friends were William Cole-

* Many years afterwards he had an opportunity of discharging more completely this debt of gratitude. While he was minister plenipotentiary from the United States at the court of France, he rendered very important services to a young man, a descendant of Mr. Vernon, who passed some time in that country. — Editor.

man and Robert Grace. I told them I could not propose a separation, while any prospect remained of the Merediths' fulfilling their part of our agreement; because I thought myself under great obligations to them for what they had done, and would do if they could; but, if they finally failed in their performance, and our partnership must be dissolved, I should then think myself at liberty to accept the assistance of my friend.

Thus the matter rested for some time, when I said to my partner, "Perhaps your father is dissatisfied at the part you have undertaken in this affair of ours, and is unwilling to advance for you and me, what he would for you. If that is the case, tell me, and I will resign the whole to you, and go about my business." "No," said he, "my father has really been disappointed, and is really unable; and I am unwilling to distress him further. I see this is a business I am not fit for. I was bred a farmer, and it was folly in me to come to town, and put myself, at thirty years of age, an apprentice to learn a new trade. Many of our Welsh people are going to settle in North Carolina, where land is cheap. I am inclined to go with them, and follow my old employment; you may find friends to assist you. If you will take the debts of the company upon you, return to my father the hundred pounds he has advanced, pay my little personal debts, and give me thirty pounds and a new saddle, I will relinquish the partnership and leave the whole in your hands." I agreed to this proposal; it was drawn up in writing, signed, and sealed immediately. I gave him what he demanded, and he went soon after to Carolina; whence he sent me next year two long letters, containing the best account that had been given of that country, the climate, the soil, and husbandry, for in those matters

he was very judicious. I printed them in the papers, and they gave great satisfaction to the public.

As soon as he was gone, I recurred to my two friends; and because I would not give an unkind preference to either, I took half of what each had offered and I wanted of one, and half of the other; paid off the company's debts, and went on with the business in my own name; advertising that the partnership was dissolved. I think this was in or about the year 1729.*

About this time there was a cry among the people for more paper money; only fifteen thousand pounds being extant in the province, and that soon to be sunk. The wealthy inhabitants opposed any addition, being against all paper currency, from the apprehension that it would depreciate as it had done in New England, to the injury of all creditors. We had discussed this point in our Junto, where I was on the side of an addition; being persuaded, that the first small sum struck in 1723 had done much good by increasing the trade, employment, and number of inhabitants in the province; since I now saw all the old houses inhabited, and many new ones building; whereas I remembered well, when I first walked about the streets of Phila-

* The dissolution of the partnership was a year later, as appears by the following agreement, transcribed from the original in Franklin's handwriting. — EDITOR.

"Be it remembered, that Hugh Meredith and Benjamin Franklin have this day separated as partners, and will henceforth act each on his own account; and that the said Hugh Meredith, for a valuable consideration by him received from the said Benjamin Franklin, hath relinquished, and doth hereby relinquish, to the said Franklin, all claim, right, or property to or in the printing materials and stock heretofore jointly possessed by them in partnership; and to all debts due to them as partners, in the course of their business; which are all from henceforth the sole property of the said Benjamin Franklin. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand, this 14th day of July, 1730.

"HUGH MEREDITH."

delphia, eating my roll, I saw many of the houses in Walnut Street, between Second and Front Streets, with bills on their doors, "*To be let*"; and many likewise in Chestnut Street and other streets; which made me think the inhabitants of the city were one after another deserting it.

Our debates possessed me so fully of the subject, that I wrote and printed an anonymous pamphlet on it, entitled, "*The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency.*"* It was well received by the common people in general; but the rich men disliked it, for it increased and strengthened the clamor for more money; and, they happening to have no writers among them that were able to answer it, their opposition slackened, and the point was carried by a majority in the House.

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* See Vol. II. p. 253.

"It is little known, or set down to the commendation of Franklin, that, when he was young in business, and stood in need of sundry articles in the line of his profession as a printer, he had the ingenuity to make them for himself. In this way he founded letters of lead, engraved various printing ornaments, cut wood-cuts, made printer's ink, engraved copperplate vignettes, and made his plate-press." — WATSON'S *Annals of Philadelphia*, p. 513.

Mr. Watson relates another anecdote. He says, that the "yellow willow tree," now so common throughout the country, was first introduced into America by Franklin. A wicker basket, made of willow, in which some foreign article had been imported, he saw sprouting in a ditch, and directed some of the twigs to be planted. They took root, and from these shoots are supposed to have sprung all the yellow willows, which have grown on this side of the Atlantic.

Chaptal ascribes to Franklin, also, the introduction of the agricultural use of plaster of Paris into the United States. "As this celebrated philosopher," says he, "wished that the effects of this manure should strike the gaze of all cultivators, he wrote in great letters, formed by the use of the ground plaster, in a field of clover lying upon the great road, '*This has been plastered.*' The prodigious vegetation, which was developed in the plastered portion, led him to adopt this method. Volumes upon the excellency of plaster would not have produced so speedy a revolution. From that period the Americans have imported great quantities of plaster of Paris." — CHAPTAL'S *Agricultural Chemistry*, Boston edition, p. 73. — EDITOR.

My friends there, who considered I had been of some service, thought fit to reward me, by employing me in printing the money; a very profitable job, and a great help to me. This was another advantage gained by my being able to write.

The utility of this currency became by time and experience so evident, that the principles upon which it was founded were never afterwards much disputed; so that it grew soon to fifty-five thousand pounds; and in 1739, to eighty thousand pounds; trade, building, and inhabitants all the while increasing. Though I now think there are limits, beyond which the quantity may be hurtful.

I soon after obtained, through my friend Hamilton, the printing of the Newcastle paper money, another profitable job, as I then thought it; small things appearing great to those in small circumstances; and these to me were really great advantages, as they were great encouragements. Mr. Hamilton procured for me also the printing of the laws and votes of that government; which continued in my hands as long as I followed the business.

I now opened a small stationer's shop. I had in it blanks of all kinds; the correctest that ever appeared among us. I was assisted in that by my friend Breintnal. I had also paper, parchment, chapmen's books, &c. One Whitemarsh, a compositor I had known in London, an excellent workman, now came to me, and worked with me constantly and diligently; and I took an apprentice, the son of Aquila Rose.

I began now gradually to pay off the debt I was under for the printing-house. In order to secure my credit and character as a tradesman, I took care not only to be in *reality* industrious and frugal, but to avoid the appearances to the contrary. I dressed plain,

and was seen at no places of idle diversion. I never went out a fishing or shooting; a book indeed sometimes debauched me from my work, but that was seldom, was private, and gave no scandal; and, to show that I was not above my business, I sometimes brought home the paper I purchased at the stores, through the streets on a wheelbarrow. Thus being esteemed an industrious, thriving young man, and paying duly for what I bought, the merchants who imported stationery solicited my custom; others proposed supplying me with books, and I went on prosperously. In the mean time, Keimer's credit and business declining daily, he was at last forced to sell his printing-house, to satisfy his creditors. He went to Barbadoes, and there lived some years in very poor circumstances.

His apprentice, David Harry, whom I had instructed while I worked with him, set up in his place at Philadelphia, having bought his materials. I was at first apprehensive of a powerful rival in Harry, as his friends were very able, and had a good deal of interest. I therefore proposed a partnership to him, which he fortunately for me rejected with scorn. He was very proud, dressed like a gentleman, lived expensively, took much diversion and pleasure abroad, ran in debt, and neglected his business; upon which, all business left him; and, finding nothing to do, he followed Keimer to Barbadoes, taking the printing-house with him. There this apprentice employed his former master as a journeyman; they quarrelled often, and Harry went continually behindhand, and at length was obliged to sell his types and return to country work in Pennsylvania. The person who bought them employed Keimer to use them, but a few years after he died.

There remained now no other printer in Philadelphia, but the old Bradford; but he was rich and easy,

did a little in the business by straggling hands, but was not anxious about it. However, as he held the postoffice, it was imagined he had better opportunities of obtaining news, his paper was thought a better distributer of advertisements than mine, and therefore had many more; which was a profitable thing to him, and a disadvantage to me. For, though I did indeed receive and send papers by the post, yet the public opinion was otherwise; for what I did send was by bribing the riders, who took them privately; Bradford being unkind enough to forbid it, which occasioned some resentment on my part; and I thought so meanly of the practice, that, when I afterwards came into his situation, I took care never to imitate it.

I had hitherto continued to board with Godfrey, who lived in a part of my house with his wife and children, and had one side of the shop for his glazier's business though he worked little, being always absorbed in his mathematics. Mrs. Godfrey projected a match for me, with a relation's daughter, took opportunities of bringing us often together, till a serious courtship on my part ensued; the girl being in herself very deserving. The old folks encouraged me by continual invitations to supper, and by leaving us together, till at length it was time to explain. Mrs. Godfrey managed our little treaty. I let her know that I expected as much money with their daughter as would pay off my remaining debt for the printing-house; which I believe was not then above a hundred pounds. She brought me word they had no such sum to spare; I said they might mortgage their house in the loan-office. The answer to this, after some days, was, that they did not approve the match; that, on inquiry of Bradford, they had been informed the printing business was not a profitable one, the types would soon be

worn out and more wanted; that Keimer and David Harry had failed one after the other, and I should probably soon follow them; and therefore I was forbidden the house, and the daughter was shut up.

Whether this was a real change of sentiment or only artifice, on a supposition of our being too far engaged in affection to retract, and therefore that we should steal a marriage, which would leave them at liberty to give or withhold what they pleased, I know not. But I suspected the motive, resented it, and went no more. Mrs. Godfrey brought me afterwards some more favorable accounts of their disposition, and would have drawn me on again; but I declared absolutely my resolution to have nothing more to do with that family. This was resented by the Godfreys, we differed, and they removed, leaving me the whole house, and I resolved to take no more inmates.

But this affair having turned my thoughts to marriage, I looked round me and made overtures of acquaintance in other places; but soon found, that, the business of a printer being generally thought a poor one, I was not to expect money with a wife, unless with such a one as I should not otherwise think agreeable. In the mean time, that hard to be governed passion of youth had hurried me frequently into intrigues with low women that fell in my way, which were attended with some expense and great inconvenience, besides a continual risk to my health by a distemper, which of all things I dreaded, though by great good luck I escaped it.

A friendly correspondence as neighbours had continued between me and Miss Read's family, who all had a regard for me from the time of my first lodging in their house. I was often invited there and consulted in their affairs, wherein I sometimes was of ser-

vice. I pitied poor Miss Read's unfortunate situation, who was generally dejected, seldom cheerful, and avoided company. I considered my giddiness and inconstancy when in London, as in a great degree the cause of her unhappiness; though the mother was good enough to think the fault more her own than mine, as she had prevented our marrying before I went thither, and persuaded the other match in my absence. Our mutual affection was revived, but there were now great objections to our union. That match was indeed looked upon as invalid, a preceding wife being said to be living in England; but this could not easily be proved, because of the distance, &c.; and, though there was a report of his death, it was not certain. Then, though it should be true, he had left many debts, which his successor might be called upon to pay. We ventured, however, over all these difficulties, and I took her to wife, September 1st, 1730. None of the inconveniences happened, that we had apprehended; she proved a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending to the shop; we throve together, and ever mutually endeavoured to make each other happy. Thus I corrected that great *erratum* as well as I could.

About this time, our club meeting, not at a tavern, but in a little room of Mr. Grace's, set apart for that purpose, a proposition was made by me, that, since our books were often referred to in our disquisitions upon the queries, it might be convenient to us to have them altogether where we met, that upon occasion they might be consulted; and by thus clubbing our books in a common library, we should, while we liked to keep them together, have each of us the advantage of using the books of all the other members, which would be nearly as beneficial as if each owned the whole. It

was liked and agreed to, and we filled one end of the room with such books as we could best spare. The number was not so great as we expected; and, though they had been of great use, yet some inconveniences occurring for want of due care of them, the collection after about a year was separated; and each took his books home again.

And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew up the proposals, got them put into form by our great scrivener, Brockden, and, by the help of my friends in the Junto, procured fifty subscribers of forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings a year for fifty years, the term our company was to continue. We afterwards obtained a charter, the company being increased to one hundred; this was the mother of all the North American subscription libraries, now so numerous. It is become a great thing itself, and continually goes on increasing. These libraries have improved the general conversation of the Americans, made the common tradesmen and farmers as intelligent as most gentlemen from other countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand so generally made throughout the colonies in defence of their privileges.

CHAPTER VI.*

Origin of the Philadelphia Library. — Mode of obtaining Subscriptions. — Thrives in his Business. — Anecdote of the Silver Spoon and China Bowl. — Religious Sentiments and Remarks on Preaching. — Scheme for arriving at Moral Perfection. — Explanation of the Scheme. — List of Virtues enumerated, and Rules for Practising them. — Division of Time, and the Occupation of each Hour. — Amusing Anecdote. — The Art of Virtue. — A Treatise on that Subject proposed.

AT the time I established myself in Pennsylvania, there was not a good bookseller's shop in any of the colonies to the southward of Boston. In New York and Philadelphia, the printers were indeed stationers, but they sold only paper, almanacs, ballads, and a few

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* Down to this period the Memoir was written in the year 1771, and the task was then laid aside for several years. In the mean time, the manuscript was shown to several of the author's friends, who pressed him to complete what he had begun. He accordingly yielded to their solicitations, and, to the part with which this chapter commences, he prefixed the following introductory remarks, and also the two letters to which he alludes.

"*Continuation of the Account of my Life, begun at Passy, near Paris*, 1784.

"It is some time since I received the above letters, but I have been too busy till now to think of complying with the request they contain. It might, too, be much better done if I were at home among my papers, which would aid my memory, and help to ascertain dates; but my return being uncertain, and having just now a little leisure, I will endeavour to recollect and write what I can; if I live to get home, it may there be corrected and improved.

"Not having any copy here of what is already written, I know not whether an account is given of the means I used to establish the Philadelphia public library; which from a small beginning is now become so considerable. Though I remember to have come down to near the time of that transaction (1730.) I will therefore begin here with an account of it, which may be struck out if found to have been already given."

The letters referred to were from his friends, Benjamin Vaughan and Abel James. They may be found in the *Correspondence*, Vol. IX. p. 478, under the date of January 31st, 1783. — EDITOR.

common school-books. Those who loved reading were obliged to send for their books from England; the members of the Junto had each a few. We had left the alehouse, where we first met, and hired a room to hold our club in. I proposed, that we should all of us bring our books to that room; where they would not only be ready to consult in our conferences, but become a common benefit, each of us being at liberty to borrow such as he wished to read at home. This was accordingly done, and for some time contented us.

Finding the advantage of this little collection, I proposed to render the benefit from the books more common, by commencing a public subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary, and got a skilful conveyancer, Mr. Charles Brockden, to put the whole in form of articles of agreement to be subscribed; by which each subscriber engaged to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of the books, and an annual contribution for increasing them. So few were the readers at that time in Philadelphia, and the majority of us so poor, that I was not able with great industry to find more than fifty persons, mostly young tradesmen, willing to pay down for this purpose forty shillings each, and ten shillings per annum. With this little fund we began. The books were imported; the library was opened one day in the week for lending them to the subscribers, on their promissory notes to pay double the value if not duly returned. The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations; reading became fashionable; and our people, having no public amusements to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books; and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better in-

structed, and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries.

When we were about to sign the abovementioned articles, which were to be binding on us, our heirs, &c. for fifty years, Mr. Brockden, the scrivener, said to us, "You are young men, but it is scarcely probable that any of you will live to see the expiration of the term fixed in the instrument." A number of us, however, are yet living; but the instrument was after a few years rendered null, by a charter that incorporated and gave perpetuity to the company.*

* It appears by a statement in Mr. Smith's "Notes for a History of the Library Company of Philadelphia," that the above "instrument" was dated July 1st, 1731. The charter of incorporation was obtained from the Proprietaries of Pennsylvania in 1742. Franklin's name stands at the head of the list of the persons who applied for the charter, and to whom it was granted. The library has grown to be one of the largest in America. The spacious and handsome edifice, in which it is contained, was erected but a short time before Dr. Franklin's death. It is stated in the minutes of the Library Company, as quoted by Mr. Smith, "that, upon the suggestion of Dr. Franklin, a large stone was prepared, and laid at the southeast corner of the building, with the following inscription, composed by the Doctor, except so far as relates to himself, which the Committee have taken the liberty of adding to it.

'Be it remembered,
In honor of the Philadelphia Youth,
(Then chiefly artificers,)
That, in MDCCXXXI,
They cheerfully
At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin,
One of their Number,
Instituted the Philadelphia Library,
Which, though small at first,
Is become highly valuable, and extensively useful,
And which the Walls of this Edifice
Are now destined to contain and preserve;
The first Stone of whose Foundation
Was here placed
The 31st of August, MDCCLXXXIX.'"

The marble statue of Dr. Franklin, which occupies a niche in front of the building, was executed in Italy, and presented to the Library Company by Mr. William Bingham. — EDITOR.

The objections and reluctances I met with, in soliciting the subscriptions, made me soon feel the impropriety of presenting one's self as the proposer of any useful project, that might be supposed to raise one's reputation in the smallest degree above that of one's neighbours, when one has need of their assistance to accomplish that project. I therefore put myself as much as I could out of sight, and stated it as a scheme of a *number of friends*, who had requested me to go about and propose it to such as they thought lovers of reading. In this way my affair went on more smoothly, and I ever after practised it on such occasions; and, from my frequent successes, can heartily recommend it. The present little sacrifice of your vanity will afterwards be amply repaid. If it remains a while uncertain to whom the merit belongs, some one more vain than yourself may be encouraged to claim it, and then even envy will be disposed to do you justice, by plucking those assumed feathers, and restoring them to their right owner.

This library afforded me the means of improvement by constant study, for which I set apart an hour or two each day; and thus repaired in some degree the loss of the learned education my father once intended for me. Reading was the only amusement I allowed myself. I spent no time in taverns, games, or frolics of any kind; and my industry in my business continued as indefatigable as it was necessary. I was indebted for my printing-house; I had a young family coming on to be educated, and I had two competitors to contend with for business, who were established in the place before me. My circumstances however grew daily easier. My original habits of frugality continuing, and my father having, among his instructions to me when a boy, frequently repeated a proverb of Solomon,

"Seest thou a man diligent in his calling, he shall stand before kings, he shall not stand before mean men," I thence considered industry as a means of obtaining wealth and distinction, which encouraged me; though I did not think, that I should ever literally *stand before kings*, which, however, has since happened; for I have stood before *five*, and even had the honor of sitting down with one, the King of Denmark, to dinner.

We have an English proverb that says, *"He that would thrive, must ask his wife."* It was lucky for me that I had one as much disposed to industry and frugality as myself. She assisted me cheerfully in my business, folding and stitching pamphlets, tending shop, purchasing old linen rags for the paper-makers, &c. We kept no idle servants, our table was plain and simple, our furniture of the cheapest. For instance, my breakfast was for a long time bread and milk (no tea), and I ate it out of a two penny earthen porringer, with a pewter spoon. But mark how luxury will enter families, and make a progress, in spite of principle; being called one morning to breakfast, I found it in a China bowl, with a spoon of silver! They had been bought for me without my knowledge by my wife, and had cost her the enormous sum of three and twenty shillings; for which she had no other excuse or apology to make, but that she thought *her* husband deserved a silver spoon and China bowl as well as any of his neighbours. This was the first appearance of plate and China in our house; which afterwards, in a course of years, as our wealth increased, augmented gradually to several hundred pounds in value.

I had been religiously educated as a Presbyterian; but, though some of the dogmas of that persuasion, such as *the eternal decrees of God, election, reprobation, &c.*, appeared to me unintelligible, others doubtful, and

I early absented myself from the public assemblies of the sect, Sunday being my studying day, I never was without some religious principles. I never doubted, for instance, the existence of a Deity; that he made the world and governed it by his providence; that the most acceptable service of God was the doing good to man; that our souls are immortal; and that all crimes will be punished, and virtue rewarded, either here or hereafter.* These I esteemed the essentials of every religion; and, being to be found in all the religions we had in our country, I respected them all, though with different degrees of respect, as I found them more or less mixed with other articles, which, without any tendency to inspire, promote, or confirm morality, served principally to divide us, and make us unfriendly to one another. This respect to all, with an opinion that the worst had some good effects, induced me to avoid all discourse that might tend to lessen the good opinion another might have of his own religion; and as our province increased in people, and new places of worship were continually wanted, and generally erected by voluntary contribution, my mite for such purpose, whatever might be the sect, was never refused.

Though I seldom attended any public worship, I had still an opinion of its propriety, and of its utility when rightly conducted, and I regularly paid my annual subscription for the support of the only Presbyterian minister or meeting we had in Philadelphia. He used to visit me sometimes as a friend, and admonish me to attend his administrations; and I was now and then prevailed on to do so; once for five Sundays successively. Had he been in my opinion a good

* See *Articles of Belief*, and a *Lecture on the Providence of God*, Vol. II. p. 1, and p. 525.

preacher, perhaps I might have continued, notwithstanding the occasion I had for the Sunday's leisure in my course of study; but his discourses were chiefly either polemic arguments, or explications of the peculiar doctrines of our sect, and were all to me very dry, uninteresting, and unedifying; since not a single moral principle was inculcated or enforced; their aim seeming to be rather to make us *Presbyterians* than *good citizens.*

At length he took for his text that verse of the fourth chapter to the Philippians, "*Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, honest, just, pure, lovely, or of good report, if there be any virtue, or any praise, think on these things.*" And I imagined, in a sermon on such a text, we could not miss of having some morality. But he confined himself to five points only, as meant by the apostle; 1. Keeping holy the Sabbath Day. 2. Being diligent in reading the holy Scriptures. 3. Attending duly the public worship. 4. Partaking of the Sacrament. 5. Paying a due respect to God's ministers. These might be all good things; but, as they were not the kind of good things that I expected from that text, I despaired of ever meeting with them from any other, was disgusted, and attended his preaching no more. I had some years before composed a little liturgy, or form of prayer, for my own private use, (in 1728,) entitled, *Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion.** I returned to the use of this, and went no more to the public assemblies. My conduct might be blamable, but I leave it, without attempting further to excuse it; my present purpose being to relate facts, and not to make apologies for them.†

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* See Vol. II. p. 1.

† In Mr. Walsh's "Life of Franklin," published in Delaplaine's *Repository*, there is an extract, copied from an original paper in Franklin's

It was about this time I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at *moral perfection*. I wished to live without committing any fault at any time, and to conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company, might lead me into. As I knew, or thought I knew, what was right and wrong, I did not see why I might not *always* do the one and avoid the other. But I soon found I had undertaken a task of more difficulty than I had imagined. While my attention was taken up, and care employed in guarding against one fault, I was often surprised by another; habit took the advantage of inattention; inclination was sometimes too strong for reason. I concluded at length, that the mere speculative conviction, that it was our interest to be completely virtuous, was not sufficient to prevent our slipping; and that the contrary habits

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handwriting, which claims insertion in this place, as connected with the subject upon which the author is now about to speak.

"Those, who write of the art of poetry," says Franklin, "teach us, that, if we would write what may be worth reading, we ought always, before we begin, to form a regular plan and design of our piece; otherwise we shall be in danger of incongruity. I am apt to think it is the same as to life. I have never fixed a regular design in life, by which means it has been a confused variety of different scenes. I am now entering upon a new one; let me, therefore, make some resolutions, and form some scheme of action, that henceforth I may live in all respects like a rational creature.

"1. It is necessary for me to be extremely frugal for some time, till I have paid what I owe.

"2. To endeavour to speak truth in every instance, to give nobody expectations that are not likely to be answered, but aim at sincerity in every word and action; the most amiable excellence in a rational being.

"3. To apply myself industriously to whatever business I take in hand, and not divert my mind from my business by any foolish project of growing suddenly rich; for industry and patience are the surest means of plenty.

"4. I resolve to speak ill of no man whatever, not even in a matter of truth; but rather by some means excuse the faults I hear charged upon others, and, upon proper occasions, speak all the good I know of everybody."—EDITOR.

must be broken, and good ones acquired and established, before we can have any dependence on a steady, uniform rectitude of conduct. For this purpose I therefore tried the following method.

In the various enumerations of the *moral virtues* I had met with in my reading, I found the catalogue more or less numerous, as different writers included more or fewer ideas under the same name. *Temperance*, for example, was by some confined to eating and drinking; while by others it was extended to mean the moderating every other pleasure, appetite, inclination, or passion, bodily or mental, even to our avarice and ambition. I proposed to myself, for the sake of clearness, to use rather more names, with fewer ideas annexed to each, than a few names with more ideas; and I included under thirteen names of virtues, all that at that time occurred to me as necessary or desirable; and annexed to each a short precept, which fully expressed the extent I gave to its meaning.

These names of *virtues*, with their precepts, were;

1. TEMPERANCE. — Eat not to dulness; drink not to elevation.

2. SILENCE. — Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation.

3. ORDER. — Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.

4. RESOLUTION. — Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve.

5. FRUGALITY. — Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; that is, waste nothing.

6. INDUSTRY. — Lose no time; be always employed in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions.

7. SINCERITY. — Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly; and, if you speak, speak accordingly.

8. JUSTICE. — Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.

9. MODERATION. — Avoid extremes; forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.

10. CLEANLINESS. — Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation.

11. TRANQUILLITY. — Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.

12. CHASTITY. .....

13. HUMILITY. — Imitate Jesus and Socrates.

My intention being to acquire the *habitude* of all these virtues, I judged it would be well not to distract my attention by attempting the whole at once, but to fix it on *one* of them at a time; and, when I should be master of that, then to proceed to another; and so on, till I should have gone through the thirteen. And, as the previous acquisition of some might facilitate the acquisition of certain others, I arranged them with that view, as they stand above. *Temperance* first, as it tends to procure that coolness and clearness of head, which is so necessary where constant vigilance was to be kept up, and a guard maintained against the unremitting attraction of ancient habits, and the force of perpetual temptations. This being acquired and established, *Silence* would be more easy; and my desire being to gain knowledge at the same time that I improved in virtue, and considering that in conversation it was obtained rather by the use of the ear than of the tongue, and therefore wishing to break a habit I was getting into of prattling, punning, and jesting, which only made me acceptable to trifling company, I gave *Silence* the second place. This and the next, *Order*, I expected would allow me more time for attending to my project and my studies. *Resolution*, once become habitual, would keep me firm in my en-

deavours to obtain all the subsequent virtues; *Frugality* and *Industry* relieving me from my remaining debt, and producing affluence and independence, would make more easy the practice of *Sincerity* and *Justice*, &c. &c. Conceiving then, that, agreeably to the advice of Pythagoras in his *Golden Verses*, daily examination would be necessary, I contrived the following method for conducting that examination.

I made a little book, in which I allotted a page for each of the virtues. I ruled each page with red ink, so as to have seven columns, one for each day of the week, marking each column with a letter for the day. I crossed these columns with thirteen red lines, marking the beginning of each line with the first letter of one of the virtues; on which line, and in its proper column, I might mark, by a little black spot, every fault I found upon examination to have been committed respecting that virtue, upon that day.*

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* This little book is dated *Sunday, 1st July*, 1733. — W. T. F.

In a letter written by the author to Lord Kames, in November, 1761, he thus alludes to the scheme here mentioned, and to the design he then had of expanding it into a treatise on the *Art of Virtue*. In that letter he says; "To produce the number of valuable men necessary in a nation for its prosperity, there is much more hope from schemes of *early institution* than from *reformation*. And, as the power of a single man to do national service, in particular situations of influence, is often immensely great, a writer can hardly conceive the good he may be doing, when engaged in works of this kind. I cannot, therefore, but wish you would publish it ["Elements of Criticism"] as soon as your other important employments will permit you to give it the finishing hand. With these sentiments you will not doubt my being serious in the intention of finishing my *Art of Virtue*. It is not a mere ideal work. I planned it first in 1732. I have from time to time made, and caused to be made, experiments of the method with success. The materials have been growing ever since. The form only is now to be given; in which I purpose employing my first leisure, after my return to my *other* country." This project, as will be seen hereafter, was never carried into effect. — EDITOR.

FORM OF THE PAGES.

TEMPERANCE.

Eat not to dulness; drink not to elevation.

	Sun.	M.	T.	W.	Th.	F.	S.
Tem.							
Sil.	*	*		*		*	
Ord.	*	*			*	*	*
Res.		*				*	
Fru.		*				*	
Ind.			*				
Sinc.							
Jus.							
Mod.							
Clea.							
Tran.							
Chas.							
Hum.							

I determined to give a week's strict attention to each of the virtues successively. Thus, in the first week, my great guard was to avoid every the least offence against *Temperance;* leaving the other virtues to their ordinary chance, only marking every evening the faults of the day. Thus, if in the first week I could keep my first line, marked T, clear of spots, I supposed the habit of that virtue so much strengthened, and its opposite weakened, that I might venture extending my attention to include the next, and for the

following week keep both lines clear of spots. Proceeding thus to the last, I could get through a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses in a year. And like him, who, having a garden to weed, does not attempt to eradicate all the bad herbs at once, which would exceed his reach and his strength, but works on one of the beds at a time, and, having accomplished the first, proceeds to a second; so I should have, I hoped, the encouraging pleasure of seeing on my pages the progress made in virtue, by clearing successively my lines of their spots; till in the end, by a number of courses, I should be happy in viewing a clean book, after a thirteen weeks' daily examination.

This my little book had for its motto, these lines from Addison's *Cato;*

"Here will I hold. If there 's a power above us,
(And that there is, all nature cries aloud
Through all her works,) He must delight in virtue;
And that which he delights in must be happy."

Another from Cicero,

"O vitæ Philosophia dux! O virtutum indagatrix expultrixque vitiorum! Unus dies, bene et ex præceptis tuis actus, peccanti immortalitati est anteponendus."

Another from the Proverbs of Solomon, speaking of wisdom or virtue;

"Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and honor. Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace."

And conceiving God to be the fountain of wisdom, I thought it right and necessary to solicit his assistance for obtaining it; to this end I formed the following little prayer, which was prefixed to my tables of examination, for daily use.

"O powerful Goodness! bountiful Father! merciful Guide! Increase in me that wisdom, which discovers my truest interest. Strengthen my

resolution to perform what that wisdom dictates. Accept my kind offices to thy other children, as the only return in my power for thy continual favors to me."

I used also sometimes a little prayer which I took from Thomson's *Poems*, viz.

"Father of light and life, thou Good Supreme!
O teach me what is good; teach me Thyself!
Save me from folly, vanity, and vice,
From every low pursuit; and feed my soul
With knowledge, conscious peace, and virtue pure;
Sacred, substantial, never-fading bliss!"

The precept of *Order* requiring that *every part of my business should have its allotted time*, one page in my little book contained the following scheme of employment for the twenty-four hours of a natural day.

SCHEME.

	Hours.	
MORNING.	5	Rise, wash, and address *Powerful Goodness!* Contrive day's business, and take the resolution of the day; prosecute the present study, and breakfast.
The *Question.* What good shall I do this day?	6	
	7	
	8	Work.
	9	
	10	
	11	
NOON.	12	Read, or look over my accounts, and dine.
	1	
AFTERNOON.	2	Work.
	3	
	4	
	5	
EVENING.	6	Put things in their places. Supper. Music or diversion, or conversation. Examination of the day.
The *Question.* What good have I done to-day?	7	
	8	
	9	
	10	Sleep.
	11	
	12	
	1	
	2	
	3	
	4	

I entered upon the execution of this plan for self-examination, and continued it with occasional intermissions for some time. I was surprised to find myself so much fuller of faults than I had imagined; but I had the satisfaction of seeing them diminish. To avoid the trouble of renewing now and then my little book, which, by scraping out the marks on the paper of old faults to make room for new ones in a new course, became full of holes, I transferred my tables and precepts to the ivory leaves of a memorandum book, on which the lines were drawn with red ink, that made a durable stain; and on those lines I marked my faults with a black-lead pencil; which marks I could easily wipe out with a wet sponge. After awhile I went through one course only in a year; and afterwards only one in several years; till at length I omitted them entirely, being employed in voyages and business abroad, with a multiplicity of affairs, that interfered; but I always carried my little book with me.

My scheme of *Order* gave me the most trouble; and I found, that, though it might be practicable where a man's business was such as to leave him the disposition of his time, that of a journeyman printer for instance, it was not possible to be exactly observed by a master, who must mix with the world, and often receive people of business at their own hours. Order, too, with regard to places for things, papers, &c., I found extremely difficult to acquire. I had not been early accustomed to *method*, and, having an exceedingly good memory, I was not so sensible of the inconvenience attending want of method. This article, therefore, cost me much painful attention, and my faults in it vexed me so much, and I made so little progress in amendment, and had such frequent relapses, that I was almost ready to give up the attempt, and con-

tent myself with a faulty character in that respect. Like the man, who, in buying an axe of a smith, my neighbour, desired to have the whole of its surface as bright as the edge. The smith consented to grind it bright for him, if he would turn the wheel; he turned, while the smith pressed the broad face of the axe hard and heavily on the stone, which made the turning of it very fatiguing. The man came every now and then from the wheel to see how the work went on; and at length would take his axe as it was, without further grinding. "No," said the smith, "turn on, turn on, we shall have it bright by and by; as yet it is only speckled." "Yes," said the man, "but *I think I like a speckled axe best.*" And I believe this may have been the case with many, who, having for want of some such means as I employed found the difficulty of obtaining good and breaking bad habits in other points of vice and virtue, have given up the struggle, and concluded that "*a speckled axe is best.*" For something, that pretended to be reason, was every now and then suggesting to me, that such extreme nicety as I exacted of myself might be a kind of foppery in morals, which, if it were known, would make me ridiculous; that a perfect character might be attended with the inconvenience of being envied and hated; and that a benevolent man should allow a few faults in himself, to keep his friends in countenance.

In truth, I found myself incorrigible with respect to *Order;* and now I am grown old, and my memory bad, I feel very sensibly the want of it. But on the whole, though I never arrived at the perfection I had been so ambitious of obtaining, but fell far short of it, yet I was, by the endeavour, a better and a happier man than I otherwise should have been, if I had not attempted it; as those who aim at perfect writing by

imitating the engraved copies, though they never reach the wished-for excellence of those copies, their hand is mended by the endeavour, and is tolerable while it continues fair and legible.

It may be well my posterity should be informed, that to this little artifice, with the blessing of God, their ancestor owed the constant felicity of his life, down to his seventy-ninth year, in which this is written. What reverses may attend the remainder is in the hand of Providence; but, if they arrive, the reflection on past happiness enjoyed ought to help his bearing them with more resignation. To *Temperance* he ascribes his long continued health, and what is still left to him of a good constitution; to *Industry* and *Frugality*, the early easiness of his circumstances and acquisition of his fortune, with all that knowledge that enabled him to be a useful citizen, and obtained for him some degree of reputation among the learned; to *Sincerity* and *Justice*, the confidence of his country, and the honorable employs it conferred upon him; and to the joint influence of the whole mass of the virtues, even in the imperfect state he was able to acquire them, all that evenness of temper, and that cheerfulness in conversation, which makes his company still sought for, and agreeable even to his young acquaintance. I hope, therefore, that some of my descendants may follow the example and reap the benefit.

It will be remarked, that, though my scheme was not wholly without religion, there was in it no mark of any of the distinguishing tenets of any particular sect. I had purposely avoided them; for, being fully persuaded of the utility and excellency of my method, and that it might be serviceable to people in all religions, and intending some time or other to publish it, I would not have any thing in it that should preju-

dice any one, of any sect, against it. I proposed writing a little comment on each virtue, in which I would have shown the advantages of possessing it, and the mischiefs attending its opposite vice; I should have called my book THE ART OF VIRTUE, because it would have shown the means and manner of obtaining virtue, which would have distinguished it from the mere exhortation to be good, that does not instruct and indicate the means; but is like the Apostle's man of verbal charity, who, without showing to the naked and hungry, how or where they might get clothes or victuals, only exhorted them to be fed and clothed. *James* ii. 15, 16.

But it so happened, that my intention of writing and publishing this comment was never fulfilled. I had, indeed, from time to time, put down short hints of the sentiments and reasonings to be made use of in it; some of which I have still by me; but the necessary close attention to private business in the earlier part of life, and public business since, have occasioned my postponing it. For, it being connected in my mind with *a great and extensive project*, that required the whole man to execute, and which an unforeseen succession of employs prevented my attending to, it has hitherto remained unfinished.

In this piece it was my design to explain and enforce this doctrine, *that vicious actions are not hurtful because they are forbidden, but forbidden because they are hurtful*, the nature of man alone considered; that it was, therefore, every one's interest to be virtuous, who wished to be happy even in this world; and I should from this circumstance (there being always in the world a number of rich merchants, nobility, states, and princes, who have need of honest instruments for the management of their affairs, and such being so

rare) have endeavoured to convince young persons, that no qualities are so likely to make a poor man's fortune, as those of *probity* and *integrity.*

My list of virtues contained at first but twelve; but a Quaker friend having kindly informed me, that I was generally thought proud; that my pride showed itself frequently in conversation; that I was not content with being in the right when discussing any point, but was overbearing, and rather insolent, of which he convinced me by mentioning several instances; I determined to endeavour to cure myself, if I could, of this vice or folly among the rest; and I added *Humility* to my list, giving an extensive meaning to the word.

I cannot boast of much success in acquiring the *reality* of this virtue, but I had a good deal with regard to the appearance of it. I made it a rule to forbear all direct contradiction to the sentiments of others, and all positive assertion of my own. I even forbid myself, agreeably to the old laws of our Junto, the use of every word or expression in the language that imported a fixed opinion; such as *certainly, undoubtedly,* &c., and I adopted instead of them, *I conceive, I apprehend,* or *I imagine,* a thing to be so or so; or it so *appears to me at present.* When another asserted something that I thought an error, I denied myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and of showing immediately some absurdity in his proposition; and in answering I began by observing, that, in certain cases or circumstances, his opinion would be right, but in the present case there *appeared* or *seemed to me* some difference, &c. I soon found the advantage of this change in my manners; the conversations I engaged in went on more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions, procured them a readier reception and less contradiction;

I had less mortification, when I was found to be in the wrong; and I more easily prevailed with others to give up their mistakes and join with me, when I happened to be in the right.

And this mode, which I at first put on with some violence to natural inclination, became at length easy, and so habitual to me, that perhaps for the last fifty years no one has ever heard a dogmatical expression escape me. And to this habit (after my character of integrity) I think it principally owing, that I had early so much weight with my fellow citizens, when I proposed new institutions or alterations in the old; and so much influence in public councils, when I became a member; for I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation in my choice of words, hardly correct in language, and yet I generally carried my point.

In reality there is perhaps no one of our natural passions so hard to subdue as *pride*. Disguise it, struggle with it, stifle it, mortify it as much as one pleases, it is still alive, and will every now and then peep out and show itself; you will see it, perhaps, often in this history. For, even if I could conceive that I had completely overcome it, I should probably be *proud* of my *humility*.

CHAPTER VII.*

Scheme of a Society for extending the Influence of Virtue. — Belief in one God, the Immortality of the Soul, and future Rewards and Punishments. — Poor Richard's Almanac. — Rules for conducting a Newspaper. — Controversy concerning Hemphill the Preacher. — Studies the French, Italian, and Spanish Languages. — Visits Boston. — The Junto. — Chosen Clerk of the Assembly. — Appointed Postmaster of Philadelphia. — Suggests Improvements in the City Watch. — Establishes a Fire Company.

HAVING mentioned *a great and extensive project*, which I had conceived, it seems proper that some account should be here given of that project and its object. Its first rise in my mind appears in the following little paper, accidentally preserved, viz.

"*Observations on my reading history, in the Library, May 9th*, 1731.

"That the great affairs of the world, the wars, and revolutions are carried on and effected by parties.

"That the view of these parties is their present general interest, or what they take to be such.

"That the different views of these different parties occasion all confusion.

"That while a party is carrying on a general design, each man has his particular private interest in view.

"That as soon as a party has gained its general point, each member becomes intent upon his particular interest; which, thwarting others, breaks that party into divisions, and occasions more confusion.

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* The preceding chapter was written at Passy. In a memorandum, which he made when he again resumed the narrative four years afterwards, he says, "I am now about to write at home, (Philadelphia,) August, 1788, but cannot have the help expected from my papers, many of them being lost in the war. I have, however, found the following." He then proceeds as in the text. — EDITOR.

"That few in public affairs act from a mere view of the good of their country, whatever they may pretend; and, though their actings bring real good to their country, yet men primarily considered that their own and their country's interest were united, and so did not act from a principle of benevolence.

"That fewer still, in public affairs, act with a view to the good of mankind.

"There seems to me at present to be great occasion for raising a *United Party for Virtue*, by forming the virtuous and good men of all nations into a regular body, to be governed by suitable good and wise rules, which good and wise men may probably be more unanimous in their obedience to, than common people are to common laws.

"I at present think, that whoever attempts this aright, and is well qualified, cannot fail of pleasing God, and of meeting with success."

Revolving this project in my mind, as to be undertaken hereafter, when my circumstances should afford me the necessary leisure, I put down from time to time, on pieces of paper, such thoughts as occurred to me respecting it. Most of these are lost; but I find one purporting to be the substance of an intended creed, containing, as I thought, the essentials of every known religion, and being free of every thing that might shock the professors of any religion. It is expressed in these words; viz.

"That there is one God, who made all things.

"That he governs the world by his providence.

"That he ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.

"But that the most acceptable service to God is doing good to man.

"That the soul is immortal.

"And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter."

My ideas at that time were, that the sect should be begun and spread at first among young and single men only; that each person to be initiated should not only declare his assent to such creed, but should have exercised himself with the thirteen weeks' examination and practice of the virtues, as in the beforementioned model; that the existence of such a society should be kept a secret, till it was become considerable, to prevent solicitations for the admission of improper persons; but that the members should, each of them, search among his acquaintance for ingenious, well disposed youths, to whom, with prudent caution, the scheme should be gradually communicated. That the members should engage to afford their advice, assistance, and support to each other in promoting one another's interest, business, and advancement in life. That, for distinction, we should be called THE SOCIETY OF THE FREE AND EASY. Free, as being, by the general practice and habits of the virtues, free from the dominion of vice; and particularly, by the practice of industry and frugality, free from debt, which exposes a man to constraint, and a species of slavery to his creditors.

This is as much as I can now recollect of the project, except that I communicated it in part to two young men who adopted it with some enthusiasm; but my then narrow circumstances, and the necessity I was under of sticking close to my business, occasioned my postponing the further prosecution of it at that time; and my multifarious occupations, public and private, induced me to continue postponing, so that it has been omitted, till I have no longer strength or activity left sufficient for such an enterprise. Though

I am still of opinion it was a practicable scheme, and might have been very useful, by forming a great number of good citizens; and I was not discouraged by the seeming magnitude of the undertaking, as I have always thought, that one man of tolerable abilities may work great changes, and accomplish great affairs among mankind, if he first forms a good plan; and, cutting off all amusements or other employments, that would divert his attention, makes the execution of that same plan his sole study and business.

In 1732, I first published my Almanac, under the name of *Richard Saunders;* it was continued by me about twenty-five years, and commonly called *Poor Richard's Almanac.** I endeavoured to make it both entertaining and useful, and it accordingly came to be in such demand, that I reaped considerable profit from it; vending annually near ten thousand. And observing that it was generally read, scarce any neighbourhood in the province being without it, I considered it as a proper vehicle for conveying instruction among the common

* Considering the remarkable success of this Almanac, and the great celebrity it has attained, particularly the summary of maxims selected from it, and published separately under the title of *The Way to Wealth*, (see Vol. II. p. 92,) the reader may be curious to see the advertisement of the first number, including the table of contents. It was printed in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* on the 19th of December, 1732, as follows.

"Just published, for 1733, An Almanac, containing the Lunations, Eclipses, Planets' Motions and Aspects, Weather, Sun and Moon's Rising and Setting, High Water, &c.; besides many pleasant and witty Verses, Jests, and Sayings; Author's Motive of Writing; Prediction of the Death of his Friend, Mr. Titan Leeds; Moon no Cuckold; Bachelor's Folly; Parson's Wine, and Baker's Pudding; Short Visits; Kings and Bears; New Fashions; Game for Kisses; Katherine's Love; Different Sentiments; Signs of a Tempest; Death of a Fisherman; Conjugal Debate; Men and Melons; The Prodigal; Breakfast in Bed; Oyster Lawsuit, &c. By Richard Saunders, Philomat. Printed and Sold by B. Franklin."

Such was the eagerness with which this Almanac was sought, that three editions were printed before the end of January, and, although he

people, who bought scarcely any other books. I therefore filled all the little spaces, that occurred between the remarkable days in the Calendar, with proverbial sentences, chiefly such as inculcated industry and frugality, as the means of procuring wealth, and thereby securing virtue; it being more difficult for a man in want to act always honestly, as, to use here one of those proverbs, *it is hard for an empty sack to stand upright.*

These proverbs, which contained the wisdom of many ages and nations, I assembled and formed into a connected discourse prefixed to the Almanac of 1757, as the harangue of a wise old man to the people attending an auction. The bringing all these scattered counsels thus into a focus enabled them to make greater impression. The piece, being universally approved, was copied in all the newspapers of the American Continent, reprinted in Britain on a large sheet of paper, to be stuck up in houses; two translations were made of it in France, and great numbers bought by the clergy and gentry, to distribute gratis among their poor

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enlarged his first editions for the subsequent years, yet two editions were frequently required to supply the demand. In the Almanac for 1739, he makes the following apology for its miscellaneous character.

"Besides the usual things expected in an Almanac, I hope the professed teachers of mankind will excuse my scattering here and there some instructive hints in matters of morality and religion. And be not thou disturbed, O grave and sober reader, if, among the many serious sentences in my book, thou findest me trifling now and then, and talking idly. In all the dishes I have hitherto cooked for thee, there is solid meat enough for thy money. There are scraps from the table of wisdom, that will, if well digested, yield strong nourishment for the mind. But squeamish stomachs cannot eat without pickles; which, it is true, are good for nothing else, but they provoke an appetite. The vain youth, that reads my Almanac for the sake of an idle joke, will perhaps meet with a serious reflection, that he may ever after be the better for."

It is believed that a complete series of *Poor Richard's Almanac* is not now in existence. After much research I have not been able to find more than one third of the numbers that were published. — EDITOR.

parishioners and tenants. In Pennsylvania, as it discouraged useless expense in foreign superfluities, some thought it had its share of influence in producing that growing plenty of money, which was observable for several years after its publication.*

I considered my newspaper, also, as another means of communicating instruction, and in that view frequently reprinted in it extracts from the *Spectator*, and other moral writers; and sometimes published little pieces of my own, which had been first composed for reading in our Junto. Of these are a Socratic dialogue, tending to prove, that, whatever might be his parts and abilities, a vicious man could not properly be called a man of sense; and a discourse on self-denial, showing that virtue was not secure, till its practice became a *habitude*, and was free from the opposition of contrary inclinations. These may be found in the papers about the beginning of 1735.†

In the conduct of my newspaper, I carefully excluded all libelling and personal abuse, which is of late years become so disgraceful to our country. Whenever I was solicited to insert any thing of that kind, and the writers pleaded, as they generally did, the liberty of the press; and that a newspaper was like a stagecoach, in which any one who would pay had a right to a place; my answer was, that I would print the piece separately if desired, and the author might have as many copies as he pleased to distribute himself; but that I would not take upon me to spread his detraction; and that, having contracted with my subscribers to furnish them with what might be either useful or entertaining, I could not fill their papers

* See Vol. II. p. 92.

† The *Dialogue* was printed in the year 1730; and the other piece in 1735. *Ibid.* pp. 46, 63. — Editor.

with private altercation, in which they had no concern, without doing them manifest injustice. Now, many of our printers make no scruple of gratifying the malice of individuals, by false accusations of the fairest characters among ourselves, augmenting animosity even to the producing of duels; and are, moreover, so indiscreet as to print scurrilous reflections on the government of neighbouring states, and even on the conduct of our best national allies, which may be attended with the most pernicious consequences. These things I mention as a caution to young printers, and that they may be encouraged not to pollute their presses, and disgrace their profession by such infamous practices, but refuse steadily; as they may see by my example, that such a course of conduct will not on the whole be injurious to their interests.*

In 1733, I sent one of my journeymen to Charleston, South Carolina, where a printer was wanting. I furnished him with a press and letters, on an agreement of partnership, by which I was to receive one third of the profits of the business, paying one third of the expense. He was a man of learning, but ignorant in matters of account; and, though he sometimes made me remittances, I could get no account from him, nor any satisfactory state of our partnership while he lived. On his decease, the business was continued by his widow, who, being born and bred in Holland, where, as I have been informed, the knowledge of accounts makes a part of female education, she not only sent me as clear a statement as she could find of the transactions past, but continued to account with the greatest regularity and exactness every quarter after-

* In 1737 he published a piece in his paper on the Freedom of Speech and of the Press. See Vol. II. p. 285. Again, late in life, he wrote a pointed satirical piece on this subject. *Ibid.* p. 508.—Editor.

wards; and managed the business with such success, that she not only reputably brought up a family of children, but, at the expiration of the term, was able to purchase of me the printing-house, and establish her son in it.

I mention this affair chiefly for the sake of recommending that branch of education for our young women, as likely to be of more use to them and their children, in case of widowhood, than either music or dancing; by preserving them from losses by imposition of crafty men, and enabling them to continue, perhaps, a profitable mercantile house, with established correspondence, till a son is grown up fit to undertake and go on with it; to the lasting advantage and enriching of the family

About the year 1734, there arrived among us a young Presbyterian preacher, named Hemphill, who delivered with a good voice, and apparently extempore, most excellent discourses; which drew together considerable numbers of different persuasions, who joined in admiring them. Among the rest, I became one of his constant hearers, his sermons pleasing me, as they had little of the dogmatical kind, but inculcated strongly the practice of virtue, or what in the religious style are called *good works*. Those, however, of our congregation, who considered themselves as orthodox Presbyterians, disapproved his doctrine, and were joined by most of the old ministers, who arraigned him of heterodoxy before the synod, in order to have him silenced. I became his zealous partisan, and contributed all I could to raise a party in his favor, and combated for him awhile with some hopes of success. There was much scribbling *pro* and *con* upon the occasion; and finding, that, though an elegant preacher, he was but a poor writer, I wrote for him two or three pamphlets,

and a piece in the *Gazette* of April, 1735. Those pamphlets, as is generally the case with controversial writings, though eagerly read at the time, were soon out of vogue, and I question whether a single copy of them now exists.*

During the contest an unlucky occurrence hurt his cause exceedingly. One of our adversaries having heard him preach a sermon, that was much admired, thought he had somewhere read the sermon before, or at least a part of it. On searching, he found that part quoted at length, in one of the British *Reviews*, from a discourse of Dr. Foster's. This detection gave many of our party disgust, who accordingly abandoned his cause, and occasioned our more speedy discomfiture in the synod. I stuck by him, however; I rather approved his giving us good sermons composed by others, than bad ones of his own manufacture; though the latter was the practice of our common teachers. He afterwards acknowledged to me, that none of those he preached were his own; adding, that his memory was such as enabled him to retain and repeat any sermon after once reading only. On our defeat, he left us in search elsewhere of better fortune, and I quitted the congregation, never attending it after; though I continued many years my subscription for the support of its ministers.

I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French, as to be able to read the books in that language with ease. I then undertook the Italian. An acquaintance, who was

* None of these pamphlets has been found. Several anonymous tracts on this subject are advertised in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, in the months of July, September, and October, 1735, some of which are probably the same that are here mentioned, as having been written by Franklin. — EDITOR.

also learning it, used often to tempt me to play chess with him. Finding this took up too much of the time I had to spare for study, I at length refused to play any more, unless on this condition, that the victor in every game should have a right to impose a task, either of parts of the grammar to be got by heart, or in translations, which tasks the vanquished was to perform upon honor before our next meeting. As we played pretty equally, we thus beat one another into that language. I afterwards, with a little pains-taking, acquired as much of the Spanish as to read their books also.

I have already mentioned, that I had only one year's instruction in a Latin school, and that when very young, after which I neglected that language entirely. But, when I had attained an acquaintance with the French, Italian, and Spanish, I was surprised to find, on looking over a Latin Testament, that I understood more of that language than I had imagined; which encouraged me to apply myself again to the study of it, and I met with more success, as those preceding languages had greatly smoothed my way.

From these circumstances I have thought there is some inconsistency in our common mode of teaching languages. We are told, that it is proper to begin first with the Latin, and, having acquired that, it will be more easy to attain those modern languages, which are derived from it; and yet we do not begin with the Greek, in order more easily to acquire the Latin. It is true, that, if we can clamber and get to the top of a staircase without using the steps, we shall more easily gain them in descending; but certainly, if we begin with the lowest, we shall with more ease ascend to the top; and I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those, who superintend the edu-

cation of our youth, whether, since many of those, who begin with the Latin, quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost, it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian and Latin. For though after spending the same time they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would however have acquired another tongue or two, that, being in modern use, might be serviceable to them in common life.

After ten years' absence from Boston, and having become easy in my circumstances, I made a journey thither to visit my relations; which I could not sooner afford. In returning I called at Newport to see my brother James, then settled there with his printing-house. Our former differences were forgotten, and our meeting was very cordial and affectionate. He was fast declining in health, and requested me, that, in case of his death, which he apprehended not far distant, I would take home his son, then but ten years of age, and bring him up to the printing business. This I accordingly performed, sending him a few years to school before I took him into the office. His mother carried on the business till he was grown up, when I assisted him with an assortment of new types, those of his father being in a manner worn out. Thus it was that I made my brother ample amends for the service I had deprived him of by leaving him so early.

In 1736, I lost one of my sons, a fine boy of four years old, by the smallpox, taken in the common way. I long regretted him bitterly, and still regret that I had not given it to him by inoculation. This I mention for the sake of parents who omit that operation, on

the supposition, that they should never forgive themselves if a child died under it; my example showing, that the regret may be the same either way, and therefore that the safer should be chosen.

Our club, the Junto, was found so useful, and afforded such satisfaction to the members, that some were desirous of introducing their friends, which could not well be done without exceeding what we had settled as a convenient number; viz. twelve. We had from the beginning made it a rule to keep our institution a secret, which was pretty well observed; the intention was, to avoid applications of improper persons for admittance, some of whom, perhaps, we might find it difficult to refuse. I was one of those, who were against any addition to our number, but instead of it made in writing a proposal, that every member separately should endeavour to form a subordinate club, with the same rules respecting queries, &c., and without informing them of the connexion with the Junto. The advantages proposed were, the improvement of so many more young citizens by the use of our institutions; our better acquaintance with the general sentiments of the inhabitants on any occasion, as the Junto member might propose what queries we should desire, and was to report to the Junto what passed at his separate club; the promotion of our particular interests in business by more extensive recommendation, and the increase of our influence in public affairs, and our power of doing good by spreading through the several clubs the sentiments of the Junto.

The project was approved, and every member undertook to form his club; but they did not all succeed. Five or six only were completed, which were called by different names, as the *Vine*, the *Union*, the *Band*. They were useful to themselves, and afforded

us a good deal of amusement, information, and instruction; besides answering, in some considerable degree, our views of influencing the public on particular occasions; of which I shall give some instances in course of time as they happened.

My first promotion was my being chosen, in 1736, clerk of the General Assembly. The choice was made that year without opposition; but the year following, when I was again proposed, (the choice like that of the members being annual,) a new member made a long speech against me, in order to favor some other candidate. I was however chosen, which was the more agreeable to me, as, besides the pay for the immediate service of clerk, the place gave me a better opportunity of keeping up an interest among the members, which secured to me the business of printing the votes, laws, paper money, and other occasional jobs for the public, that, on the whole, were very profitable.

I therefore did not like the opposition of this new member, who was a gentleman of fortune and education, with talents that were likely to give him in time great influence in the House, which indeed afterwards happened. I did not, however, aim at gaining his favor by paying any servile respect to him, but, after some time, took this other method. Having heard that he had in his library a certain very scarce and curious book, I wrote a note to him, expressing my desire of perusing that book, and requesting that he would do me the favor of lending it to me for a few days. He sent it immediately; and I returned it in about a week with another note, expressing strongly the sense of the favor. When we next met in the House, he spoke to me, which he had never done before, and with great civility; and he ever after manifested a readiness to serve me on all occasions, so that we became great

friends, and our friendship continued to his death. This is another instance of the truth of an old maxim I had learned, which says, "*He, that has once done you a kindness, will be more ready to do you another, than he whom you yourself have obliged.*" And it shows how much more profitable it is prudently to remove, than to resent, return, and continue, inimical proceedings.

In 1737, Colonel Spotswood, late governor of Virginia, and then postmaster-general, being dissatisfied with the conduct of his deputy at Philadelphia, respecting some negligence in rendering, and want of exactness in framing, his accounts, took from him the commission and offered it to me. I accepted it readily, and found it of great advantage; for, though the salary was small, it facilitated the correspondence that improved my newspaper, increased the number demanded, as well as the advertisements to be inserted, so that it came to afford me a considerable income. My old competitor's newspaper declined proportionably, and I was satisfied without retaliating his refusal, while postmaster, to permit my papers being carried by the riders. Thus he suffered greatly from his neglect in due accounting; and I mention it as a lesson to those young men, who may be employed in managing affairs for others, that they should always render accounts, and make remittances, with great clearness and punctuality. The character of observing such a conduct is the most powerful of all recommendations to new employments and increase of business.*

* Before this appointment, he had been favored in regard to the circulation of his newspaper. On the 28th of January, 1735, he says; "By the indulgence of the Honorable Colonel Spotswood, Postmaster-General, the printer hereof is allowed to send the Gazettes by the post, postage free, to all parts of the post-road, from Virginia to New England."

The following advertisement indicates nearly the time at which he

I began now to turn my thoughts to public affairs, beginning however with small matters. The city watch was one of the first things that I conceived to want regulation. It was managed by the constables of the respective wards in turn; the constable summoned a number of housekeepers to attend him for the night. Those, who chose never to attend, paid him six shillings a year to be excused, which was supposed to go to hiring substitutes, but was in reality much more than was necessary for that purpose, and made the constableship a place of profit; and the constable, for a little drink, often got such ragamuffins about him as a watch, that respectable housekeepers did not choose to mix with. Walking the rounds, too, was often neglected, and most of the nights spent in tippling. I thereupon wrote a paper to be read in the Junto,

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assumed the duties of postmaster, and also the degree of speed with which the mail was then conveyed.

October 27th, 1737. — "Notice is hereby given, that the postoffice of Philadelphia is now kept at B. Franklin's, in Market Street; and that Henry Pratt is appointed Riding Postmaster for all the stages between Philadelphia and Newport in Virginia, who sets out about the beginning of each month, and returns in twenty-four days; by whom gentlemen, merchants, and others, may have their letters carefully conveyed, and business faithfully transacted, he having given good security for the same to the Honorable Colonel Spotswood, Postmaster-General of all his Majesty's Dominions in America."

Six years afterwards some improvement had taken place in the transmission of the mail. In an advertisement, dated April 14th, 1743, he says; "After this week, the northern post will set out for New York on Thursdays at three o'clock in the afternoon till Christmas. The southern post sets out next Monday at eight o'clock for Annapolis, and continues going every fortnight during the summer season." In winter the post between Philadelphia and New York went once a fortnight.

The following characteristic advertisement is contained in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for June 23d, 1737. — "Taken out of a pew in the Church, some months since, a Common Prayer Book, bound in red, gilt, and lettered D. F. [Deborah Franklin] on each cover. The person who took it is desired to open it and read the eighth Commandment, and afterwards return it into the same pew again; upon which no further notice will be taken." — EDITOR.

representing these irregularities, but insisting more particularly on the inequality of the six shilling tax of the constable, respecting the circumstances of those who paid it; since a poor widow housekeeper, all whose property to be guarded by the watch did not perhaps exceed the value of fifty pounds, paid as much as the wealthiest merchant, who had thousands of pounds' worth of goods in his stores.

On the whole I proposed as a more effectual watch, the hiring of proper men to serve constantly in the business; and as a more equitable way of supporting the charge, the levying a tax that should be proportioned to the property. This idea, being approved by the Junto, was communicated to the other clubs, but as originating in each of them; and though the plan was not immediately carried into execution, yet, by preparing the minds of people for the change, it paved the way for the law obtained a few years after, when the members of our clubs were grown into more influence.

About this time I wrote a paper (first to be read in the Junto, but it was afterwards published,) on the different accidents and carelessnesses by which houses were set on fire, with cautions against them, and means proposed of avoiding them. This was spoken of as a useful piece, and gave rise to a project, which soon followed it, of forming a company for the more ready extinguishing of fires, and mutual assistance in removing and securing of goods when in danger. Associates in this scheme were presently found, amounting to thirty. Our articles of agreement obliged every member to keep always in good order, and fit for use, a certain number of leathern buckets, with strong bags and baskets (for packing and transporting of goods), which were to be brought to every fire; and we

agreed about once a month to spend a social evening together, in discoursing and communicating such ideas as occurred to us upon the subject of fires, as might be useful in our conduct on such occasions.*

The utility of this institution soon appeared, and many more desiring to be admitted than we thought convenient for one company, they were advised to form another, which was accordingly done; and thus went on one new company after another, till they became so numerous as to include most of the inhabitants who were men of property; and now, at the time of my writing this, though upwards of fifty years since its establishment, that which I first formed, called the *Union Fire Company*, still subsists; though the first members are all deceased but one, who is older by a year than I am. The fines that have been paid by

* In the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for February 4th, 1734 – 5, is a paper on this subject, which was probably written by Franklin. It begins as follows.

"Being old and lame of my hands, and thereby incapable of assisting my fellow citizens when their houses are on fire, I must beg them to take in good part the following hints on the subject of fires.

"In the first place, as an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure, I would advise them to take care how they suffer living brand-ends, or coals in a full shovel, to be carried out of one room into another, or up or down stairs, unless in a warming-pan, shut; for scraps of fire may fall into chinks, and make no appearance till midnight, when, your stairs being in flames, you may be forced, as I once was, to leap out of your windows, and hazard your necks to avoid being over-roasted. And now we talk of prevention, where would be the damage, if, to the act for regulating bakehouses and coopers' shops, a clause were added to regulate all other causes in the particulars of too shallow hearths, and the detestable practice of putting wooden mouldings on each side of the fireplace, which, being commonly of heart of pine and full of turpentine, stand ready to flame as soon as a coal or a small brand shall roll against them?"

He then proceeds to speak of the caution necessary in the building and sweeping of chimneys, and dwells at considerable length on the best modes of extinguishing fires, and the advantages of a proper organization of fire companies. — EDITOR.

members for absence at the monthly meetings have been applied to the purchase of fire-engines, ladders, fire-hooks, and other useful implements for each company; so that I question whether there is a city in the world better provided with the means of putting a stop to beginning conflagrations; and, in fact, since these institutions, the city has never lost by fire more than one or two houses at a time, and the flames have often been extinguished before the house in which they began has been half consumed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Forms an Intimacy with Whitefield. — Building erected for Preachers of all Denominations. — Character of Whitefield, his Oratory and Writings. — Partnerships in the Printing Business. — Proposes a Philosophical Society. — Takes an active Part in providing Means of Defence in the Spanish War. — Forms an Association for that Purpose. — Sentiments of the Quakers. — James Logan. — Anecdote of William Penn. — The Sect called Dunkers. — Religious Creeds. — New-invented Fireplace.

In 1739, arrived among us from Ireland the Reverend Mr. Whitefield, who had made himself remarkable there as an itinerant preacher. He was at first permitted to preach in some of our churches; but the clergy, taking a dislike to him, soon refused him their pulpits, and he was obliged to preach in the fields. The multitudes of all sects and denominations that attended his sermons were enormous, and it was a matter of speculation to me, who was one of the number, to observe the extraordinary influence of his oratory on his hearers, and how much they admired and respected him, notwithstanding his common abuse of them, by assuring them, they were naturally *half beasts and half devils*. It was wonderful to see the change soon made in the manners of our inhabitants. From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street.

And it being found inconvenient to assemble in the open air, subject to its inclemencies, the building of a house to meet in was no sooner proposed, and persons appointed to receive contributions, than sufficient

sums were soon received to procure the ground, and erect the building, which was one hundred feet long and seventy broad; and the work was carried on with such spirit as to be finished in a much shorter time than could have been expected. Both house and ground were vested in trustees, expressly for the use of *any preacher of any religious persuasion*, who might desire to say something to the people at Philadelphia; the design in building being not to accommodate any particular sect, but the inhabitants in general; so that even if the Mufti of Constantinople were to send a missionary to preach Mahometanism to us, he would find a pulpit at his service.

Mr. Whitefield, on leaving us, went preaching all the way through the colonies to Georgia. The settlement of that province had been lately begun, but, instead of being made with hardy, industrious husbandmen, accustomed to labor, the only people fit for such an enterprise, it was with families of broken shopkeepers and other insolvent debtors; many of indolent and idle habits, taken out of the jails, who, being set down in the woods, unqualified for clearing land, and unable to endure the hardships of a new settlement, perished in numbers, leaving many helpless children unprovided for. The sight of their miserable situation inspired the benevolent heart of Mr. Whitefield, with the idea of building an Orphan House there, in which they might be supported and educated. Returning northward, he preached up this charity, and made large collections; for his eloquence had a wonderful power over the hearts and purses of his hearers, of which I myself was an instance.

I did not disapprove of the design, but, as Georgia was then destitute of materials and workmen, and it was proposed to send them from Philadelphia at a

great expense, I thought it would have been better to have built the house at Philadelphia, and brought the children to it. This I advised; but he was resolute in his first project, rejected my counsel, and I therefore refused to contribute. I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me. I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold. As he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably, that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all. At this sermon there was also one of our club, who, being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had by precaution emptied his pockets before he came from home. Towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong inclination to give, and applied to a neighbour, who stood near him, to lend him some money for the purpose. The request was fortunately made to perhaps the only man in the company, who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "At any other time, friend Hopkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now; for thee seems to be out of thy right senses."

Some of Mr. Whitefield's enemies affected to suppose that he would apply these collections to his own private emolument; but I, who was intimately acquainted with him, being employed in printing his Sermons and Journals, never had the least suspicion of his integrity; but am to this day decidedly of opinion, that he was in all his conduct a perfectly *honest*

man; and methinks my testimony in his favor ought to have the more weight, as we had no religious connexion. He used, indeed, sometimes to pray for my conversion, but never had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. Ours was a mere civil friendship, sincere on both sides, and lasted to his death.

The following instance will show the terms on which we stood. Upon one of his arrivals from England at Boston, he wrote to me, that he should come soon to Philadelphia, but knew not where he could lodge when there, as he understood his old friend and host, Mr. Benezet, was removed to Germantown. My answer was, "You know my house; if you can make shift with its scanty accommodations, you will be most heartily welcome." He replied, that if I made that kind offer for *Christ's* sake, I should not miss of a reward. And I returned, "Don't let me be mistaken; it was not for *Christ's* sake, but for *your sake.*" One of our common acquaintance jocosely remarked, that, knowing it to be the custom of the saints, when they received any favor, to shift the burden of the obligation from off their own shoulders, and place it in heaven, I had contrived to fix it on earth.

The last time I saw Mr. Whitefield, was in London, when he consulted me about his Orphan-House concern, and his purpose of appropriating it to the establishment of a college.

He had a loud and clear voice, and articulated his words so perfectly, that he might be heard and understood at a great distance; especially as his auditors observed the most perfect silence. He preached one evening from the top of the Court-House steps, which are in the middle of Market Street, and on the west side of Second Street, which crosses it at right angles.

Both streets were filled with his hearers to a considerable distance. Being among the hindmost in Market Street, I had the curiosity to learn how far he could be heard, by retiring backwards down the street towards the river; and I found his voice distinct till I came near Front Street, when some noise in that street obscured it. Imagining then a semicircle, of which my distance should be the radius, and that it was filled with auditors, to each of whom I allowed two square feet, I computed that he might well be heard by more than thirty thousand. This reconciled me to the newspaper accounts of his having preached to twenty-five thousand people in the fields, and to the history of generals haranguing whole armies, of which I had sometimes doubted.*

By hearing him often, I came to distinguish easily between sermons newly composed, and those which he had often preached in the course of his travels. His delivery of the latter was so improved by frequent repetition, that every accent, every emphasis, every modulation of voice, was so perfectly well turned and well placed, that, without being interested in the subject, one could not help being pleased with the discourse; a pleasure of much the same kind with that received from an excellent piece of music. This is an

* In the early part of his life, Mr. Whitefield was preaching in an open field, when a drummer happened to be present, who was determined to interrupt his pious business, and rudely beat his drum in a violent manner, in order to drown the preacher's voice. Mr. Whitefield spoke very loud, but was not as powerful as the instrument. He therefore called out to the drummer in these words, "Friend, you and I serve the two greatest masters existing, but in different callings; you beat up for volunteers for King George, I for the Lord Jesus. In God's name, then, let us not interrupt each other; the world is wide enough for both; and we may get recruits in abundance." This speech had such an effect on the drummer, that he went away in great good-humor, and left the preacher in full possession of the field.

advantage itinerant preachers have over those who are stationary, as the latter cannot well improve their delivery of a sermon by so many rehearsals.

His writing and printing from time to time gave great advantage to his enemies; unguarded expressions, and even erroneous opinions, delivered in preaching, might have been afterwards explained or qualified by supposing others that might have accompanied them; or they might have been denied; but *litera scripta manet.* Critics attacked his writings violently, and with so much appearance of reason as to diminish the number of his votaries and prevent their increase. So that I am satisfied, that, if he had never written any thing, he would have left behind him a much more numerous and important sect; and his reputation might in that case have been still growing even after his death; as, there being nothing of his writing on which to found a censure, and give him a lower character, his proselytes would be left at liberty to attribute to him as great a variety of excellences as their enthusiastic admiration might wish him to have possessed.*

* The following notices, selected from Franklin's newspaper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, show that he was the first publisher of Whitefield's writings; and they also contain some curious facts respecting the success of that eloquent preacher, immediately after his arrival in America.

November 15th, 1739.—"The Reverend Mr. Whitefield, having given me copies of his Journals and Sermons, with leave to print the same, I propose to publish them with all expedition, if I find sufficient encouragement. The Sermons will make two volumes; and the Journals two more; which will be delivered to subscribers at two shillings for each volume bound. Those, therefore, who are inclined to encourage this work, are desired speedily to send in their names to me, that I may take measures accordingly."

November 29th.—"On Friday last, Mr. Whitefield arrived here with his friends from New York, where he preached eight times. He has preached twice every day to great crowds, except Tuesday, when he preached at Germantown, from a balcony, to about five thousand people in the street. And last night the crowd was so great to hear his farewell sermon, that the church could not contain one half, whereupon

My business was now constantly augmenting, and my circumstances growing daily easier, my newspaper having become very profitable, as being for a time almost the only one in this and the neighbouring provinces. I experienced too, the truth of the observation, "*that after getting the first hundred pounds, it is more easy to get the second;*" money itself being of a prolific nature.

The partnership at Carolina having succeeded, I was encouraged to engage in others, and to promote several of my workmen, who had behaved well, by establishing them in printing-houses in different colonies, on

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they withdrew to Society Hill, where he preached from a balcony to a multitude, computed at not less than ten thousand people. He left this city to-day."

December 5th. — "On Thursday last, the Reverend Mr. Whitefield left this city, and was accompanied to Chester by about one hundred and fifty horse, and preached there to about seven thousand people. On Friday he preached twice at Willing's Town to about five thousand; on Saturday at Newcastle to about two thousand five hundred; and the same evening at Christiana Bridge to about three thousand; on Sunday at White Clay Creek he preached twice, resting about half an hour between the sermons, to about eight thousand, of whom three thousand it is computed came on horseback. It rained most of the time, and yet they stood in the open air."

May 15th, 1740. — "This evening the Reverend Mr. Whitefield went on board his sloop at Newcastle to sail for Georgia. On Sunday he preached twice at Philadelphia. The last was his farewell sermon, at which was a vast audience. On Monday he preached at Derby and Chester; on Tuesday at Wilmington and White Clay Creek; on Wednesday at Nottingham; on Thursday at Fog's Manor. The congregations were, at every place, much more numerous than when he was here last. We hear that he has collected in these parts, in goods and money, between four and five hundred pounds sterling for his Orphan House in Georgia."

May 22d, 1740. — "Monday next will be delivered to the subscribers two volumes of the Reverend Mr. Whitefield's works; viz. one of Sermons and one of Journals. The other volumes being nearly finished, will be ready in a short time. The whole number of names subscribed far exceeds the number of books printed. Those subscribers, who have paid, or who bring the money in their hands, will have the preference." — EDITOR.

the same terms with that in Carolina.* Most of them did well, being enabled at the end of our term, six years, to purchase the types of me and go on working for themselves, by which means several families were raised. Partnerships often finish in quarrels; but I was happy in this, that mine were all carried on and ended amicably; owing, I think, a good deal to the precaution of having very explicitly settled, in our articles, every thing to be done by or expected from each partner, so that there was nothing to dispute; which precaution I would therefore recommend to all who enter into partnerships; for, whatever esteem partners may have for, and confidence in, each other at the time of the contract, little jealousies and disgusts may arise, with ideas of inequality in the care and burden, business, &c., which are attended often with breach of friendship and of the connexion; perhaps with lawsuits and other disagreeable consequences.

I had on the whole abundant reason to be satisfied with my being established in Pennsylvania. There were, however, some things that I regretted, there being no provision for defence, nor for a complete education of youth; no militia, nor any college. I therefore, in 1743, drew up a proposal for establishing an academy;† and at that time, thinking the Reverend Richard Peters,

* By the general terms of these partnerships, Franklin supplied a printing-press and a certain quantity of types at his own charge; and all other materials for carrying on the business were provided by the partner. The amount of necessary expenses for rent, paper, ink, and the like, was deducted from the gross receipts, and the remainder, including the debts, was divided into three parts, of which two belonged to the partner and one to Franklin. All accounts were settled quarterly. At the expiration of the time agreed upon, which was commonly six years, the partner was at liberty to return the press and types, or to purchase them at a fair valuation. A partnership of this description existed for many years between Franklin and James Parker, a respectable printer in New York. — Editor.

† See Appendix, No. III.

who was out of employ, a fit person to superintend such an institution, I communicated the project to him; but he, having more profitable views in the service of the Proprietors, which succeeded, declined the undertaking; and, not knowing another at that time suitable for such a trust, I let the scheme lie awhile dormant. I succeeded better the next year, 1744, in proposing and establishing a *Philosophical Society*. The paper I wrote for that purpose will be found among my writings; if not lost with many others.*

With respect to defence, Spain having been several years at war against Great Britain, and being at length joined by France, which brought us into great danger; and the labored and long-continued endeavour of our governor, Thomas, to prevail with our Quaker Assembly to pass a militia law, and make other provisions for the security of the province, having proved abortive; I proposed to try what might be done by a voluntary sub-

* See Vol. VI. p. 14; also APPENDIX to this volume, No. IV.

The author has omitted to mention an enterprise, which he undertook in the year 1741, being the publication of a periodical work, called the *General Magazine*. The first notice of it is contained in his Gazette for November 13th, 1740.

"This Magazine," he says, "in imitation of those in England, was long since projected. A correspondence is settled with intelligent men in most parts of the colonies, and small types are procured for carrying it on in the best manner. It would not, indeed, have been published quite so soon, were it not that a person, to whom the scheme was communicated in confidence, has thought fit to advertise it in the last *Mercury*, without our participation, and probably with a view, by starting before us, to discourage us from prosecuting our first design, and reap the advantage of it wholly to himself. We shall endeavour, however, by executing our plan with care, diligence, and impartiality, and by printing the work neatly and correctly, to deserve a share of the public favor.

"But we desire no subscriptions. We shall publish the books at our own expense, and risk the sale of them; which method, we suppose, will be most agreeable to our readers, as they will then be at liberty to buy only what they like, and we shall be under the constant necessity of endeavouring to make every particular pamphlet worth their money. Each Magazine shall contain four sheets, of common-sized paper, in a

scription of the people. To promote this, I first wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled, PLAIN TRUTH,* in which I stated our helpless situation in strong lights, with the necessity of union and discipline for our defence, and promised to propose in a few days an association, to be generally signed for that purpose. The pamphlet had a sudden and surprising effect. I was called upon for the instrument of association. Having settled the draft of it with a few friends, I appointed a meeting of the citizens in the large building before mentioned. The house was pretty full; I had prepared a number of printed copies, and provided pens and ink dispersed all over the room. I harangued them a little on the subject, read the paper, explained it, and then distributed the copies, which were eagerly signed, not the least objection being made.

When the company separated, and the papers were collected, we found above twelve hundred signatures;

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small character. Price sixpence sterling, or ninepence Pennsylvania money; with considerable allowance to chapmen, who take quantities. To be printed and sold by B. Franklin, in Philadelphia."

The work was accordingly begun, and entitled "The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle, for all the British Plantations in America; January, 1741. Philadelphia; printed and sold by B. Franklin." It is in a duodecimo form, handsomely printed on a small type. The titlepage is ornamented with the Prince of Wales's coronet and three plumes, with the motto, *Ich Dien.* One number was published monthly till June, making six in the whole. It was then discontinued. The contents are miscellaneous, but mostly historical, political, and theological. Very few of the articles were original. A large part of each number was occupied with the proceedings of Parliament relating to the colonies, Governors' speeches, the Assemblies' replies, and extracts from books. There was a department for poetry, chiefly selected, but interspersed with original pieces both in English and Latin. Much space was allowed for theological controversy, in which articles were admitted on both sides. Two of the numbers contain a manual of military exercise. In short, although the work imparted much useful information, it seems not to have been well adapted to win popular favor.—EDITOR.

* See Vol. III. p. 1.

and, other copies being dispersed in the country, the subscribers amounted at length to upwards of ten thousand. These all furnished themselves as soon as they could with arms, formed themselves into companies and regiments, chose their own officers, and met every week to be instructed in the manual exercise, and other parts of military discipline. The women, by subscriptions among themselves, provided silk colors, which they presented to the companies, painted with different devices and mottos, which I supplied.*

The officers of the companies composing the Philadelphia regiment, being met, chose me for their colonel; but, conceiving myself unfit, I declined that station, and recommended Mr. Lawrence, a fine person, and a man of influence, who was accordingly appointed. I then proposed a lottery to defray the expense of building a battery below the town, and furnished with cannon. It filled expeditiously, and the battery was soon

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* The following are the devices and mottos, as published at the time.

"1. A lion erect, a naked scimitar in one paw, the other holding the Pennsylvania scutcheon. Motto; *Patria.*

"2. Three arms, wearing different linen ruffled, plain, and checked, the hands joined by grasping each other's wrist, denoting the union of all ranks. Motto; *Unita Virtus Valet.*

"3. An eagle, the emblem of victory, descending from the skies. Motto; *A Deo Victoria.*

"4. The figure of liberty sitting on a cube, holding a spear with the cap of Freedom on its point. Motto; *Inestimabilis.*

"5. An armed man with a naked falchion in his hand. Motto; *Deus adjuvat Fortes.*

"6. An elephant, being the emblem of a warrior always on his guard, as that creature is said never to lie down, and hath his arms ever in readiness. Motto; *Semper Paratus.*

"7. A city walled round. Motto; *Salus Patriæ Summa Lex.*

"8. A soldier with his piece recovered, ready to present. Motto; *Sic pacem quærimus.*

"9. A coronet and plume of feathers. Motto; *In God we trust.*

"10. A man with a sword drawn. Motto; *Pro Aris et Focis.*

"11. Three of the associators, marching with their muskets shouldered,

erected, the merlons being framed of logs, and filled with earth.* We bought some old cannon from Boston; but, these not being sufficient, we wrote to London for more; soliciting at the same time our Proprietaries for some assistance; though without much expectation of obtaining it.

Meanwhile Colonel Lawrence, Mr. Allen, Abraham Taylor, and myself were sent to New York by the associators, commissioned to borrow some cannon of Governor Clinton. He at first refused us peremptorily; but at a dinner with his council, where there was great drinking of Madeira wine, as the custom of that place then was, he softened by degrees, and said he would lend us six. After a few more bumpers he advanced to ten; and at length he very good na-

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and dressed in different clothes, intimating the unanimity of the different sorts of people in the Association. Motto; *Vis Unita Fortior.*

"12. A musket and sword crossing each other. Motto; *Pro Rege et Grege.*

"13. Representation of a glory, in the middle of which is wrote, JEHOVAH-NISSI; in English, *The Lord our Banner.*

"14. A castle, at the gate of which a soldier stands sentinel. Motto; *Cavendo Tutus.*

"15. David, as he advanced against Goliath, and slung the stone. Motto; *In Nomine Domini.*

"16. A lion rampant, one paw holding up a scimitar, another a sheaf of wheat. Motto; *Domine, Protege Alimentum.*

"17. A sleeping lion. Motto; *Rouse me, if you dare.*

"18. Hope, represented by a woman standing clothed in blue, holding one hand on an anchor. Motto; *Spero per Deum Vincere.*

"19. Duke of Cumberland, as a general. Motto; *Pro Deo et Georgio Rege.*

"20. A soldier on horseback. Motto; *Pro Libertate Patriæ.*

"Most of the above colors, together with the officers' half-pikes and spontoons, and even the halberds and drums, have been given by the good ladies of this city, who raised money by subscription among themselves for that purpose." — *Pennsylvania Gazette, January 12th, and April 14th*, 1748. — EDITOR.

* For a more particular account of these proceedings, see Vol. III. p. 1–3; also Vol. VII. pp. 28–32.

It appears, that the Proprietaries were not pleased with the scheme

turedly conceded eighteen. They were fine cannon, eighteen-pounders, with their carriages, which were soon transported and mounted on our batteries; where the associators kept a nightly guard, while the war lasted; and among the rest I regularly took my turn of duty there, as a common soldier.

My activity in these operations was agreeable to the Governor and Council; they took me into confidence, and I was consulted by them in every measure where their concurrence was thought useful to the Association. Calling in the aid of religion, I proposed to them the proclaiming a fast, to promote reformation, and implore the blessing of Heaven on our undertaking. They embraced the motion; but, as it was the first fast ever thought of in the province, the secretary had no prece-

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of associating for the defence of the province. They deemed it an illegal act, and an exercise of too much power, to unite in this manner without the previous sanction of the government; and they feared it would prove a dangerous precedent, by encouraging the people to form combinations for making new claims to civil privileges, and new encroachments on the prerogatives of the Proprietaries. In answer to their letters on this subject, Mr. Secretary Peters wrote as follows. After mentioning the cannon obtained from New York, he proceeds to say;

"And now the people are hastening to erect a battery, and, when it is done, their fears will subside for the city, though the trade will be absolutely destroyed. There are now eighty associated companies, who behave very orderly; signals and words of command are settled all over the country, and the alarms are, as far as I can judge, well contrived. I shall send you the general disposition, with lists of the officers and number of men in each company, by the London ship. I begin to see this affair in a different light from what I did at first, and think it may be exceedingly for the Proprietaries' interest, for the ease of government, and the preservation of the place, under Divine Providence; and that you may, by instructions to the new Governor, obviate every inconvenience.

"The Quaker principle of non-resistance would, I fear, endanger the Constitution of the province, if the war continues and any invasion happens to this province, the centre of America and its granary; but so general an association and batteries on the river may the better reconcile the province to his Majesty and his ministers, and save them the trouble, and the Quakers the shame, of an Act of Parliament to incapacitate them from sitting in the Assembly. The President and Council

dent from which to draw the proclamation. My education in New England, where a fast is proclaimed every year, was here of some advantage; I drew it in the accustomed style; it was translated into German, printed in both languages, and circulated through the province. This gave the clergy of the different sects an opportunity of influencing their congregations to join the Association, and it would probably have been general among all but the Quakers, if the peace had not soon intervened.

It was thought by some of my friends, that, by my activity in these affairs, I should offend that sect, and thereby lose my interest in the Assembly of the province, where they formed a great majority. A young man, who had likewise some friends in the Assembly,

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have applied for a man-of-war, and the loan of cannon, to the governors of New England and Cape Breton; and there is some reason to think, that, from one place or the other, there will be one or more vessels of force cruising on our coasts this summer."—*MS. Letter, Philadelphia, March 25th*, 1748.

"I am truly concerned at what you say about the *Association;* but, as your notions of it are taken from the perusal of the Association paper only, I am in hopes it will be seen in another light when it comes to be known, that they have never acted but by orders from the board; that leaving them to choose their own officers was looked upon by the Council only in the nature of a recommendation, the tenure of their commissions being to receive their orders from the Governor for the time being, according to the rules of war; and they have it in their power at any time to revoke their commissions. The rules agreed to by the associators, though they are oddly expressed, and in too general terms, yet they were only intended for the more easy learning of the military art, and the more commodious management of their musters. They tell me that they plainly respect discipline, not action; and, as they never thought of acting independently of the government, they are exceedingly surprised, that their intentions are so much misconstrued; however, if they should have missed it in the form, since in fact they have ever had recourse to the Council, since they have ever taken their measures from them, and have behaved with remarkable dutifulness, order, sobriety, and quietness, these they think such substantial evidences of their submission to the King and his representative here, that they will more than obviate the objections taken against their manner

and wished to succeed me as their clerk, acquainted me, that it was decided to displace me at the next election; and he through good will advised me to resign, as more consistent with my honor than being turned out. My answer to him was, that I had read or heard of some public man, who made it a rule, never to ask for an office, and never to refuse one when offered to him. "I approve," said I, "of this rule, and shall practise it with a small addition; I shall never *ask*, never *refuse*, nor ever RESIGN an office. If they will have my office of clerk to dispose of it to another, they shall take it from me. I will not, by giving it up, lose my right of some time or other mak-

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of wording their Association, and may draw upon them his Majesty's favor, not resentment.

"I am no associator, and had no hand in the thing or in any one paper that was drawn; and, at the time it was proposed, no one could entertain more doubtful apprehensions than I did; but those who were at the head of it desired Mr. Allen to inform me, that they were all hearty friends of the Proprietaries, and had it much at heart to recommend themselves to their favor. They hoped that what was done from the glorious motive of defending the city would receive the Proprietaries' countenance, and that they would become generous contributors. And in fact the batteries, with the numbers of men associated, their being furnished with arms and doing their military exercises to admiration, have rendered the minds of the citizens easy, have prevented a civil war within the province, and have, as I am well informed, frustrated some schemes concerted against the city by the people of Havana. These are considerations, which will, I hope, reconcile them to your favor; and, as I was an eyewitness of all their proceedings, justice extorts from me what I have said, and indeed would induce me to say every thing I could for them." — *MS. Letter, June 13th*, 1748.

As cannon were afterwards sent from England, it is probable that the Proprietaries became better reconciled to the Association, when they were more fully informed of its objects.

"The new large cannon, that lately arrived from England, purchased by the managers of the Lottery, being mounted on the great battery, on Monday last, the associators of this city met under arms and marched thither; where they were saluted with one and twenty guns, and named the battery THE ASSOCIATION." — *Pennsylvania Gazette, September 1st*, 1748. — EDITOR.

ing reprisal on my adversaries." I heard, however, no more of this; I was chosen again unanimously as clerk at the next election. Possibly, as they disliked my late intimacy with the members of Council, who had joined the governors in all the disputes about military preparations, with which the House had long been harassed, they might have been pleased if I would voluntarily have left them; but they did not care to displace me on account merely of my zeal for the Association, and they could not well give another reason.

Indeed, I had some cause to believe, that the defence of the country was not disagreeable to any of them, provided they were not required to assist in it. And I found that a much greater number of them, than I could have imagined, though against *offensive* war, were clearly for the *defensive.* Many pamphlets *pro* and *con* were published on the subject, and some by good Quakers, in favor of *defence;* which I believe convinced most of their young people.

A transaction in our fire company gave me some insight into their prevailing sentiments. It had been proposed, that we should encourage the scheme for building a battery by laying out the present stock, then about sixty pounds, in tickets of the lottery. By our rules no money could be disposed of till the next meeting after the proposal. The company consisted of thirty members, of whom twenty-two were Quakers, and eight only of other persuasions. We eight punctually attended the meeting; but, though we thought that some of the Quakers would join us, we were by no means sure of a majority. Only one Quaker, Mr. James Morris, appeared to oppose the measure. He expressed much sorrow, that it had ever been proposed, as he said *Friends* were all against it, and it would create such discord as might break up the com-

pany. We told him, that we saw no reason for that; we were the minority, and if *Friends* were against the measure, and out-voted us, we must and should, agreeably to the usage of all societies, submit. When the hour for business arrived, it was moved to put this to the vote; he allowed we might do it by the rules, but, as he could assure us that a number of members intended to be present for the purpose of opposing it, it would be but candid to allow a little time for their appearing.

While we were disputing this, a waiter came to tell me, that two gentlemen below desired to speak with me. I went down, and found there two of our Quaker members. They told me, there were eight of them assembled at a tavern just by; that they were determined to come and vote with us if there should be occasion, which they hoped would not be the case, and desired we would not call for their assistance, if we could do without it; as their voting for such a measure might embroil them with their elders and friends. Being thus secure of a majority, I went up, and, after a little seeming hesitation, agreed to a delay of another hour. This Mr. Morris allowed to be extremely fair. Not one of his opposing friends appeared, at which he expressed great surprise; and, at the expiration of the hour, we carried the resolution eight to one; and as, of the twenty-two Quakers, eight were ready to vote with us, and thirteen by their absence manifested that they were not inclined to oppose the measure, I afterwards estimated the proportion of Quakers sincerely against defence as one to twenty-one only. For these were all regular members of the society, and in good reputation among them, and who had notice of what was proposed at that meeting.

The honorable and learned Mr. Logan, who had

always been of that sect, wrote an address to them, declaring his approbation of *defensive* war, and supported his opinion by many strong arguments. He put into my hands sixty pounds to be laid out in lottery tickets for the battery, with directions to apply what prizes might be drawn wholly to that service. He told me the following anecdote of his old master, William Penn, respecting defence. He came over from England when a young man, with that Proprietary, and as his secretary. It was war time, and their ship was chased by an armed vessel, supposed to be an enemy. Their captain prepared for defence; but told William Penn, and his company of Quakers, that he did not expect their assistance, and they might retire into the cabin; which they did, except James Logan, who chose to stay upon deck, and was quartered to a gun. The supposed enemy proved a friend, so there was no fighting; but when the secretary went down to communicate the intelligence, William Penn rebuked him severely for staying upon deck, and undertaking to assist in defending the vessel, contrary to the principles of Friends; especially as it had not been required by the captain. This reprimand, being before all the company, piqued the secretary, who answered; "I being thy servant, why did thee not order me to come down? But thee was willing enough that I should stay and help to fight the ship, when thee thought there was danger."

My being many years in the Assembly, a majority of which were constantly Quakers, gave me frequent opportunities of seeing the embarrassment given them by their principle against war, whenever application was made to them, by order of the crown, to grant aids for military purposes. They were unwilling to offend government, on the one hand, by a direct refusal; and

their friends, the body of the Quakers, on the other, by a compliance contrary to their principles; using a variety of evasions to avoid complying, and modes of disguising the compliance, when it became unavoidable. The common mode at last was, to grant money under the phrase of its being "*for the King's use*," and never to inquire how it was applied.

But, if the demand was not directly from the crown, that phrase was found not so proper, and some other was to be invented. Thus, when powder was wanting (I think it was for the garrison at Louisburg), and the government of New England solicited a grant of some from Pennsylvania, which was much urged on the House by Governor Thomas, they would not grant money to buy *powder*, because that was an ingredient of war; but they voted an aid to New England of three thousand pounds, to be put into the hands of the Governor, and appropriated it for the purchase of bread, flour, wheat, or *other grain*. Some of the Council, desirous of giving the House still further embarrassment, advised the Governor not to accept provision, as not being the thing he had demanded; but he replied, "I shall take the money, for I understand very well their meaning; *other grain* is gunpowder;" which he accordingly bought, and they never objected to it.

It was in allusion to this fact, that, when in our fire company we feared the success of our proposal in favor of the lottery, and I had said to a friend of mine, one of our members, "If we fail, let us move the purchase of a fire engine with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that; and then, if you nominate me and I you as a committee for that purpose, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a *fire engine;*" "I see," said he, "you have improved

by being so long in the Assembly; your equivocal project would be just a match for their wheat or *other grain.*"

Those embarrassments that the Quakers suffered, from having established and published it as one of their principles, that no kind of war was lawful, and which, being once published, they could not afterwards, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of what I think a more prudent conduct in another sect among us; that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Weffare, soon after it appeared. He complained to me, that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charged with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that, to put a stop to such abuse, I imagined it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said that it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to, for this reason; "When we were first drawn together as a society," said he, "it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which were esteemed truths, were errors; and that others, which we had esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to time He has been pleased to afford us further light, and our principles have been improving, and our errors diminishing. Now we are not sure, that we are arrived at the end of this progression, and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge; and we fear, that, if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvement; and our successors still more so, as conceiving what their elders and

founders had done to be something sacred, never to be departed from."

This modesty in a sect is perhaps a singular instance in the history of mankind, every other sect supposing itself in possession of all truth, and that those who differ are so far in the wrong; like a man travelling in foggy weather; those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapped up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side; but near him all appear clear; though in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them. To avoid this kind of embarrassment, the Quakers have of late years been gradually declining the public service in the Assembly and in the magistracy, choosing rather to quit their power than their principle.

In order of time, I should have mentioned before, that having, in 1742, invented an open stove for the better warming of rooms, and at the same time saving fuel, as the fresh air admitted was warmed in entering, I made a present of the model to Mr. Robert Grace, one of my early friends, who, having an iron-furnace, found the casting of the plates for these stoves a profitable thing, as they were growing in demand. To promote that demand, I wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled, "An Account of the new-invented Pennsylvanian Fire-places; wherein their Construction and Manner of Operation are particularly explained; their Advantages above every other Method of warming Rooms demonstrated; and all Objections that have been raised against the Use of them, answered and obviated," &c.* This pamphlet had a good effect; Governor Thomas was so pleased with the construction of this stove, as described in it, that he offered to give

* See Vol. VI. p. 34.

me a patent for the sole vending of them for a term of years; but I declined it from a principle which has ever weighed with me on such occasions, viz. *That, as we enjoy great advantages from the inventions of others, we should be glad of an opportunity to serve others by any invention of ours; and this we should do freely and generously.*

An ironmonger in London, however, assuming a good deal of my pamphlet, and working it up into his own, and making some small changes in the machine, which rather hurt its operation, got a patent for it there, and made, as I was told, a little fortune by it. And this is not the only instance of patents taken out of my inventions by others, though not always with the same success; which I never contested, as having no desire of profiting by patents myself, and hating disputes. The use of these fire-places in very many houses, both here in Pennsylvania, and the neighbouring States, has been, and is, a great saving of wood to the inhabitants.

CHAPTER IX.

Proposals relating to the Education of Youth. — Subscriptions for that Object. — An Academy established. — Appointed one of the Trustees for managing it. — Partnership with David Hall. — Electrical Experiments. — Chosen a Member of the Assembly. — A Commissioner for making a Treaty with the Indians. — Pennsylvania Hospital. — Writes in Favor of it, and procures Subscriptions. — Advice to Gilbert Tennent. — Suggests Plans for cleaning, paving, and lighting the Streets of Philadelphia. — Project for cleaning the Streets of London. — Appointed Postmaster-general for America. — Receives the Degree of Master of Arts from Harvard and Yale Colleges.

PEACE being concluded, and the Association business therefore at an end, I turned my thoughts again to the affair of establishing an academy. The first step I took was to associate in the design a number of active friends, of whom the Junto furnished a good part; the next was to write and publish a pamphlet, entitled, *Proposals relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania.** This I distributed among the principal inhabitants gratis; and as soon as I could suppose their minds a little prepared by the perusal of it, I set on foot a subscription for opening and supporting an academy; it was to be paid in quotas yearly for five years; by so dividing it I judged the subscription might be larger; and I believe it was so, amounting to no less, if I remember right, than five thousand pounds.†

* The same paper is mentioned above, p. 143. It appears not to have been printed when it was first written. See APPENDIX, No. III. — EDITOR.

† Other great benefactions for this institution were subsequently obtained, both in America and Great Britain, through the influence of Dr. Franklin; who, on his return to Philadelphia from England, in 1775, carried thence two large gold medals, given by Mr. Sargent, one of his friends, to be bestowed as prizes on such scholars as should distinguish themselves by writing on subjects to be proposed to them by the trustees or governors of the college. Dr. Franklin, one of the trus-

In the introduction to these proposals, I stated their publication not as an act of mine, but of some *public-spirited gentlemen;* avoiding as much as I could, according to my usual rule, the presenting myself to the public as the author of any scheme for their benefit.

The subscribers, to carry the project into immediate execution, chose out of their number twenty-four trustees, and appointed Mr. Francis, then attorney-general, and myself, to draw up constitutions for the government of the academy; which being done and signed, a house was hired, masters engaged, and the schools opened; I think in the same year, 1749.*

The scholars increasing fast, the house was soon found too small, and we were looking out for a piece of ground, properly situated, with intent to build, when accident threw into our way a large house ready built, which with a few alterations might well serve our purpose. This was the building before mentioned, erected by the hearers of Mr. Whitefield, and was obtained for us in the following manner.

It is to be noted, that, the contributions to this building being made by people of different sects, care was taken in the nomination of trustees, in whom the building and ground were to be vested, that a predominancy should not be given to any sect, lest in time that predominancy might be a means of appropriating the whole to the use of such sect, contrary to the original intention. It was for this reason, that one of each sect was appointed; viz. one Church-of-England man, one Presbyterian, one Baptist, one Moravian,

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tees, named for the first subject, "*The Motives to, and Advantages of, a perpetual Union between Britain and her Colonies.*" Five pieces on the subject were produced, one of which obtained the medal. They were all printed, and read in America with approbation, and were reprinted in England.— W. T. F.

* See Vol. VII. pp. 44–47.

&c., who, in case of vacancy by death, were to fill it by election from among the contributors. The Moravian happened not to please his colleagues, and on his death they resolved to have no other of that sect. The difficulty then was, how to avoid having two of some other sect, by means of the new choice.

Several persons were named, and for that reason not agreed to. At length one mentioned me, with the observation, that I was merely an honest man, and of *no sect* at all, which prevailed with them to choose me. The enthusiasm, which existed when the house was built, had long since abated, and its trustees had not been able to procure fresh contributions for paying the ground rent, and discharging some other debts the building had occasioned, which embarrassed them greatly. Being now a member of both boards of trustees, that for the building, and that for the academy, I had a good opportunity of negotiating with both, and brought them finally to an agreement, by which the trustees for the building were to cede it to those of the academy; the latter undertaking to discharge the debt, to keep for ever open in the building a large hall for occasional preachers, according to the original intention, and maintain a free school for the instruction of poor children. Writings were accordingly drawn; and, on paying the debts, the trustees of the academy were put in possession of the premises; and, by dividing the great and lofty hall into stories, and different rooms above and below for the several schools, and purchasing some additional ground, the whole was soon made fit for our purpose, and the scholars removed into the building. The whole care and trouble of agreeing with the workmen, purchasing materials, and superintending the work, fell upon me; and I went through it the more cheerfully, as it did not then interfere with

my private business; having the year before taken a very able, industrious, and honest partner, Mr. David Hall, with whose character I was well acquainted, as he had worked for me four years. He took off my hands all care of the printing-office, paying me punctually my share of the profits. This partnership continued eighteen years, successfully for us both.

The trustees of the academy, after a while, were incorporated by a charter from the governor; their funds were increased by contributions in Britain, and grants of land from the Proprietaries, to which the Assembly has since made considerable additions; and thus was established the present University of Philadelphia. I have been continued one of its trustees from the beginning, now near forty years, and have had the very great pleasure of seeing a number of the youth, who have received their education in it, distinguished by their improved abilities, serviceable in public stations, and ornaments to their country.*

When I was disengaged myself, as above mentioned, from private business, I flattered myself that, by the sufficient though moderate fortune I had acquired, I had found leisure during the rest of my life for phi-

* A free school was likewise attached to the Academy, as appears by the following advertisement in Franklin's *Gazette*, of September 19th, 1751.

"Notice is hereby given, that on Monday, the 16th of this instant September, a *free school* will be opened, under the care and direction of the Trustees of the Academy, at the New Building, for the instruction of poor children *gratis* in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Those, who are desirous of having their children admitted, may apply to any of the Trustees."

Again, October 26th, 1752. "The charity school, opened by the Trustees in the Academy, now teaches reading, writing, and arithmetic to a hundred poor children, most of whom, though from eight to thirteen years of age, had never been sent to any school before; nor did it seem likely many of them would ever have been sent to any school, if it had not been for this institution."— EDITOR.

losophical studies and amusements. I purchased all Dr. Spence's apparatus, who had come from England to lecture in Philadelphia, and I proceeded in my electrical experiments with great alacrity; but the public, now considering me as a man of leisure, laid hold of me for their purposes; every part of our civil government, and almost at the same time, imposing some duty upon me. The governor put me into the commission of the peace; the corporation of the city chose me one of the common council, and soon after alderman; and the citizens at large elected me a burgess to represent them in the Assembly. This latter station was the more agreeable to me, as I grew at length tired with sitting there to hear the debates, in which, as clerk, I could take no part; and which were often so uninteresting, that I was induced to amuse myself with making magic squares or circles, or any thing to avoid weariness;* and I conceived my becoming a member would enlarge my power of doing good. I would not however insinuate, that my ambition was not flattered by all these promotions; it certainly was, for, considering my low beginning, they were great things to me; and they were still more pleasing, as being so many spontaneous testimonies of the public good opinion, and by me entirely unsolicited.

The office of justice of the peace I tried a little, by attending a few courts, and sitting on the bench to hear causes; but finding that more knowledge of the common law than I possessed was necessary to act in that station with credit, I gradually withdrew from it; excusing myself by being obliged to attend the higher duties of a legislator in the Assembly. My election to this trust was repeated every year for ten years, with-

* See Vol. VI. pp. 100, 104.

out my ever asking any elector for his vote, or signifying, either directly or indirectly, any desire of being chosen. On taking my seat in the House, my son was appointed their clerk.

The year following, a treaty being to be held with the Indians at Carlisle, the governor sent a message to the House, proposing that they should nominate some of their members, to be joined with some members of Council, as commissioners for that purpose. The House named the Speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself; and, being commissioned, we went to Carlisle, and met the Indians accordingly.

As those people are extremely apt to get drunk, and, when so, are very quarrelsome and disorderly, we strictly forbade the selling any liquor to them; and, when they complained of this restriction, we told them, that, if they would continue sober during the treaty, we would give them plenty of rum when the business was over. They promised this, and they kept their promise, because they could get no rum, and the treaty was conducted very orderly, and concluded to mutual satisfaction. They then claimed and received the rum; this was in the afternoon; they were near one hundred men, women, and children, and were lodged in temporary cabins, built in the form of a square, just without the town. In the evening, hearing a great noise among them, the commissioners walked to see what was the matter. We found they had made a great bonfire in the middle of the square; they were all drunk, men and women, quarrelling and fighting. Their dark-colored bodies, half naked, seen only by the gloomy light of the bonfire, running after and beating one another with firebrands, accompanied by their horrid yellings, formed a scene the most resembling our ideas of hell that could well be imagined; there was no appeasing

the tumult, and we retired to our lodging. At midnight a number of them came thundering at our door, demanding more rum, of which we took no notice.

The next day, sensible they had misbehaved, in giving us that disturbance, they sent three of their old counsellors to make their apology. The orator acknowledged the fault, but laid it upon the rum; and then endeavoured to excuse the rum, by saying, "The Great Spirit, who made all things, made every thing for some use, and whatever use he designed any thing for, that use it should always be put to. Now, when he made rum, he said, '*Let this be for the Indians to get drunk with;*' and it must be so." And indeed, if it be the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems not impossible that rum may be the appointed means. It has already annihilated all the tribes who formerly inhabited the seacoast.

In 1751, Dr. Thomas Bond, a particular friend of mine, conceived the idea of establishing a hospital in Philadelphia, (a very beneficent design, which has been ascribed to me, but was originally and truly his,) for the reception and cure of poor sick persons, whether inhabitants of the province or strangers. He was zealous and active in endeavouring to procure subscriptions for it; but, the proposal being a novelty in America, and at first not well understood, he met but with little success.

At length he came to me with the compliment, that he found there was no such a thing as carrying a public-spirited project through without my being concerned in it. "For," said he, "I am often asked by those to whom I propose subscribing, *Have you consulted Franklin on this business? And what does he think of it?* And when I tell them, that I have not, sup-

posing it rather out of your line, they do not subscribe, but say, *they will consider it.*" I inquired into the nature and probable utility of this scheme, and, receiving from him a very satisfactory explanation, I not only subscribed to it myself, but engaged heartily in the design of procuring subscriptions from others. Previously, however, to the solicitation, I endeavoured to prepare the minds of the people, by writing on the subject in the newspapers, which was my usual custom in such cases, but which Dr. Bond had omitted.

The subscriptions afterwards were more free and generous; but, beginning to flag, I saw they would be insufficient without some assistance from the Assembly, and therefore proposed to petition for it; which was done. The country members did not at first relish the project; they objected that it could only be serviceable to the city, and therefore the citizens alone should be at the expense of it; and they doubted whether the citizens themselves generally approved of it. My allegation on the contrary, that it met with such approbation as to leave no doubt of our being able to raise two thousand pounds by voluntary donations, they considered as a most extravagant supposition, and utterly impossible.

On this I formed my plan; and, asking leave to bring in a bill for incorporating the contributors according to the prayer of their petition, and granting them a blank sum of money; which leave was obtained chiefly on the consideration, that the House could throw the bill out if they did not like it; I drew it so as to make the important clause a conditional one; viz. "And be it enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that, when the said contributors shall have met and chosen their managers and treasurer, and shall have raised by their contributions a capital stock of

two thousand pounds' value, (the yearly interest of which is to be applied to the accommodation of the sick poor in the said hospital, and of charge for diet, attendance, advice, and medicines,) and *shall make the same appear to the satisfaction of the Speaker of the Assembly for the time being;* that then it shall and may be lawful for the said Speaker, and he is hereby required, to sign an order on the provincial treasurer, for the payment of two thousand pounds, in two yearly payments, to the treasurer of the said hospital, to be applied to the founding, building, and finishing of the same."

This condition carried the bill through; for the members, who had opposed the grant, and now conceived they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage; and then in soliciting subscriptions among the people, we urged the conditional promise of the law as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled; thus the clause worked both ways. The subscriptions accordingly soon exceeded the requisite sum, and we claimed and received the public gift, which enabled us to carry the design into execution. A convenient and handsome building was soon erected; the institution has by constant experience been found useful, and flourishes to this day; and I do not remember any of my political manœuvres, the success of which at the time gave me more pleasure; or wherein, after thinking of it, I more easily excused myself for having made some use of cunning.*

* The principal facts, respecting the origin and establishment of the Hospital, are contained in a quarto pamphlet, entitled "*Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital, from its first Rise to the Beginning of the Fifth Month, called May, 1754, Philadelphia; printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall.*" The *Bill*, alluded to in the text, makes a part of this pam-

It was about this time, that another projector, the Reverend Gilbert Tennent, came to me with a request, that I would assist him in procuring a subscription for erecting a new meetinghouse. It was to be for the use of a congregation he had gathered among the Presbyterians, who were originally disciples of Mr. Whitefield. Unwilling to make myself disagreeable to my fellow citizens, by too frequently soliciting their contributions, I absolutely refused. He then desired I would furnish him with a list of the names of persons I knew by experience to be generous and public-spirited. I thought it would be unbecoming in me, after their kind compliance with my solicitations, to mark them out to be worried by other beggars, and therefore refused to give such a list. He then desired I would at least give him my advice. "That I will

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phlet; and also two papers previously published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, showing the benefits of such an institution, and urging contributions to the fund from motives of benevolence and charity. The names of the original contributors are likewise printed in this pamphlet, and among them is that of Franklin. The preliminary arrangements were completed, and the first managers were elected, on the 1st of July, 1751. The persons chosen were Joshua Crosby, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Bond, Samuel Hazard, Richard Peters, Israel Pemberton, junior, Samuel Rhoads, Hugh Roberts, Joseph Morris, John Smith, Evan Morgan, and Charles Norris. The elections were annual, and Franklin was chosen for three years successively, which is as far as the records in the pamphlet extend, and probably till he went to England as a commissioner from the Assembly in 1757. He also acted as secretary of the board. While in England, he corresponded with the friends of the institution, as an agent for aiding its objects, and he always took a lively interest in its affairs. In a letter to Hugh Roberts, dated London, February 26th, 1761, he says; "I was glad to hear that the Hospital is still well supported. I write to the managers by this ship. In my journeys through England and Scotland I have visited several of the same kind, which I think were all in a good way. I send you by this ship sundry of their accounts and rules, which were given me. Possibly you may find a useful hint or two in some of them. I believe we shall be able to make a small collection here; but I cannot promise it will be very considerable." — EDITOR.

readily do," said I; "and, in the first place, I advise you to apply to all those, who you know will give something; next to those who you are uncertain whether they will give any thing or not, and show them the list of those who have given; and lastly, do not neglect those, who you are sure will give nothing; for in some of them you may be mistaken." He laughed and thanked me, and said he would take my advice. He did so, for he asked of *everybody;* and he obtained a much larger sum than he expected, with which he erected the capacious and elegant meeting-house that stands in Arch Street.

Our city, though laid out with a beautiful regularity, the streets large, straight, and crossing each other at right angles, had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages ploughed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive. I had lived near what was called the Jersey Market, and saw with pain the inhabitants wading in mud, while purchasing their provisions. A strip of ground down the middle of that market was at length paved with brick, so that, being once in the market, they had firm footing; but were often over shoes in dirt to get there. By talking and writing on the subject, I was at length instrumental in getting the street paved with stone between the market and the brick foot pavement, that was on the side next the houses. This, for some time, gave an easy access to the market dry-shod; but, the rest of the street not being paved, whenever a carriage came out of the mud upon this pavement, it shook off and left its dirt upon it, and it was soon covered with mire, which was not removed, the city as yet having no scavengers.

After some inquiry, I found a poor industrious man, who was willing to undertake keeping the pavement clean, by sweeping it twice a week, carrying off the dirt from before all the neighbours' doors, for the sum of sixpence per month, to be paid by each house. I then wrote and printed a paper setting forth the advantages to the neighbourhood, that might be obtained from this small expense; the greater ease in keeping our houses clean, so much dirt not being brought in by people's feet; the benefit to the shops by more custom, as buyers could more easily get at them; and by not having in windy weather the dust blown in upon their goods, &c. &c. I sent one of these papers to each house, and in a day or two went round to see who would subscribe an agreement to pay these sixpences; it was unanimously signed, and for a time well executed. All the inhabitants of the city were delighted with the cleanliness of the pavement that surrounded the market, it being a convenience to all, and this raised a general desire to have all the streets paved; and made the people more willing to submit to a tax for that purpose.

After some time I drew a bill for paving the city, and brought it into the Assembly. It was just before I went to England, in 1757, and did not pass till I was gone, and then with an alteration in the mode of assessment, which I thought not for the better; but with an additional provision for lighting as well as paving the streets, which was a great improvement. It was by a private person, the late Mr. John Clifton, giving a sample of the utility of lamps, by placing one at his door, that the people were first impressed with the idea of lighting all the city. The honor of this public benefit has also been ascribed to me, but it belongs truly to that gentleman. I did but follow his

example, and have only some merit to claim respecting the form of our lamps, as differing from the globe lamps, we were at first supplied with from London. They were found inconvenient in these respects; they admitted no air below; the smoke therefore did not readily go out above, but circulated in the globe, lodged on its inside, and soon obstructed the light they were intended to afford; giving besides the daily trouble of wiping them clean; and an accidental stroke on one of them would demolish it, and render it totally useless. I therefore suggested the composing them of four flat panes, with a long funnel above to draw up the smoke, and crevices admitting the air below to facilitate the ascent of the smoke; by this means they were kept clean, and did not grow dark in a few hours, as the London lamps do, but continued bright till morning; and an accidental stroke would generally break but a single pane, easily repaired.

I have sometimes wondered that the Londoners did not, from the effect holes in the bottom of the globe lamps used at Vauxhall have in keeping them clean, learn to have such holes in their street lamps. But, these holes being made for another purpose, viz. to communicate flame more suddenly to the wick by a little flax hanging down through them, the other use, of letting in air, seems not to have been thought of; and therefore, after the lamps have been lit a few hours, the streets of London are very poorly illuminated.

The mention of these improvements puts me in mind of one I proposed, when in London, to Dr. Fothergill, who was among the best men I have known, and a great promoter of useful projects. I had observed, that the streets, when dry, were never swept, and the light dust carried away; but it was suffered to accumulate

till wet weather reduced it to mud; and then, after lying some days so deep on the pavement that there was no crossing but in paths kept clean by poor people with brooms, it was with great labor raked together and thrown up into carts, open above, the sides of which suffered some of the slush at every jolt on the pavement to shake out and fall; sometimes to the annoyance of foot passengers. The reason given for not sweeping the dusty streets was, that the dust would fly into the windows of shops and houses.

An accidental occurrence had instructed me how much sweeping might be done in a little time. I found at my door in Craven Street, one morning, a poor woman sweeping my pavement with a birch broom; she appeared very pale and feeble, as just come out of a fit of sickness. I asked who employed her to sweep there; she said, "Nobody; but I am poor and in distress, and I sweeps before gentlefolkeses doors, and hopes they will give me something." I bid her sweep the whole street clean, and I would give her a shilling; this was at nine o'clock; at noon she came for the shilling. From the slowness I saw at first in her working, I could scarce believe that the work was done so soon, and sent my servant to examine it, who reported that the whole street was swept perfectly clean, and all the dust placed in the gutter which was in the middle; and the next rain washed it quite away, so that the pavement and even the kennel were perfectly clean.

I then judged, that, if that feeble woman could sweep such a street in three hours, a strong active man might have done it in half the time. And here let me remark, the convenience of having but one gutter in such a narrow street running down its middle instead of two, one on each side near the footway. For

where all the rain that falls on a street runs from the sides and meets in the middle, it forms there a current strong enough to wash away all the mud it meets with; but, when divided into two channels, it is often too weak to cleanse either, and only makes the mud it finds more fluid; so that the wheels of carriages and feet of horses throw and dash it upon the foot pavement, which is thereby rendered foul and slippery, and sometimes splash it upon those who are walking. My proposal, communicated to the Doctor, was as follows;

"For the more effectually cleaning and keeping clean the streets of London and Westminster, it is proposed, that the several watchmen be contracted with to have the dust swept up in dry seasons, and the mud raked up at other times, each in the several streets and lanes of his round; that they be furnished with brooms and other proper instruments for these purposes, to be kept at their respective stands, ready to furnish the poor people they may employ in the service.

"That in the dry summer months the dust be all swept up into heaps at proper distances, before the shops and windows of houses are usually opened; when scavengers, with close covered carts, shall also carry it all away.

"That the mud, when raked up, be not left in heaps to be spread abroad again by the wheels of carriages and trampling of horses; but that the scavengers be provided with bodies of carts, not placed high upon wheels, but low upon sliders, with lattice bottoms, which, being covered with straw, will retain the mud thrown into them, and permit the water to drain from it; whereby it will become much lighter, water making the greatest part of the weight. These bodies of carts to be placed at convenient distances, and the

mud brougnt to them in wheelbarrows; they remaining where placed till the mud is drained, and then horses brought to draw them away."

I have since had doubts of the practicability of the latter part of this proposal, in all places, on account of the narrowness of some streets, and the difficulty of placing the draining sleds so as not to encumber too much the passage; but I am still of opinion, that the former, requiring the dust to be swept up and carried away before the shops are open, is very practicable in the summer, when the days are long; for, in walking through the Strand and Fleet Street one morning at seven o'clock, I observed there was not one shop open, though it had been daylight and the sun up above three hours; the inhabitants of London choosing voluntarily to live much by candle-light, and sleep by sunshine; and yet often complain, a little absurdly, of the duty on candles, and the high price of tallow.

Some may think these trifling matters not worth minding or relating; but, when they consider, that though dust blown into the eyes of a single person, or into a single shop in a windy day, is but of small importance, yet the great number of the instances in a populous city, and its frequent repetition, gives it weight and consequence, perhaps they will not censure very severely those, who bestow some attention to affairs of this seemingly low nature. Human felicity is produced not so much by great pieces of good fortune that seldom happen, as by little advantages that occur every day. Thus, if you teach a poor young man to shave himself, and keep his razor in order, you may contribute more to the happiness of his life than in giving him a thousand guineas. This sum

may be soon spent, the regret only remaining of having foolishly consumed it; but in the other case, he escapes the frequent vexation of waiting for barbers, and of their sometimes dirty fingers, offensive breaths, and dull razors; he shaves when most convenient to him, and enjoys daily the pleasure of its being done with a good instrument. With these sentiments I have hazarded the few preceding pages, hoping they may afford hints, which some time or other may be useful to a city I love, having lived many years in it very happily, and perhaps to some of our towns in America.

Having been some time employed by the postmaster-general of America, as his comptroller in regulating several offices, and bringing the officers to account, I was, upon his death, in 1753, appointed jointly with Mr. William Hunter, to succeed him, by a commission from the postmaster-general in England. The American office had hitherto never paid any thing to that of Britain. We were to have six hundred pounds a year between us, if we could make that sum out of the profits of the office. To do this, a variety of improvements was necessary; some of these were inevitably at first expensive; so that in the first four years the office became above nine hundred pounds in debt to us. But it soon after began to repay us; and before I was displaced by a freak of the ministers, of which I shall speak hereafter, we had brought it to yield *three times* as much clear revenue to the crown, as the postoffice of Ireland. Since that imprudent transaction, they have received from it — not one farthing!

The business of the postoffice occasioned my taking a journey this year to New England, where the Col-

lege of Cambridge, of their own motion, presented me with the degree of Master of Arts. Yale College in Connecticut had before made me a similar compliment. Thus, without studying in any College, I came to partake of their honors. They were conferred in consideration of my improvements and discoveries in the electric branch of natural philosophy.

CHAPTER X.

Attends a General Convention at Albany, as a Delegate from Pennsylvania. — Proposes a Plan of Union for the Colonies, which is adopted by the Convention. — Interview with Governor Shirley at Boston. — Conversations with Governor Morris on Pennsylvania Affairs. — Assists Mr. Quincy in procuring Aids for New England. — Visits General Braddock's Army in Maryland — Procures Horses and Wagons to facilitate the March of the Army. — Obtains Supplies for the Officers. — Character of Braddock. — Account of his Defeat in the Battle of the Monongahela. — Braddock commends his Services in Letters to the Government. — These Services poorly rewarded. — Society for the Relief and Instruction of Germans in Pennsylvania.

In 1754, war with France being again apprehended, a congress of commissioners from the different colonies was by an order of the Lords of Trade to be assembled at Albany; there to confer with the chiefs of the Six Nations, concerning the means of defending both their country and ours. Governor Hamilton, having received this order, acquainted the House with it, requesting they would furnish proper presents for the Indians, to be given on this occasion; and naming the Speaker (Mr. Norris) and myself to join Mr. John Penn and Mr. Secretary Peters, as commissioners to act for Pennsylvania. The House approved the nomination, and provided the goods for the presents, though they did not much like treating out of the province; and we met the other commissioners at Albany about the middle of June.

In our way thither, I projected and drew up a Plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defence, and other important general purposes. As we passed through New York, I had there shown my project to Mr. James Alexander and Mr. Kennedy, two gentlemen

of great knowledge in public affairs; and, being fortified by their approbation, I ventured to lay it before the congress. It then appeared, that several of the commissioners had formed plans of the same kind. A previous question was first taken, whether a union should be established, which passed in the affirmative unanimously. A committee was then appointed, one member from each colony, to consider the several plans and report. Mine happened to be preferred, and, with a few amendments, was accordingly reported.

By this plan the general government was to be administered by a President-general, appointed and supported by the crown; and a grand council was to be chosen by the representatives of the people of the several colonies, met in their respective assemblies. The debates upon it in congress went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business. Many objections and difficulties were started; but at length they were all overcome, and the plan was unanimously agreed to, and copies ordered to be transmitted to the Board of Trade and to the Assemblies of the several provinces. Its fate was singular; the Assemblies did not adopt it, as they all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it; and in England it was judged to have too much of the *democratic*. The Board of Trade did not approve it, nor recommend it for the approbation of his Majesty; but another scheme was formed, supposed to answer the same purpose better, whereby the governors of the provinces, with some members of their respective councils, were to meet and order the raising of troops, building of forts, &c., and to draw on the treasury of Great Britain for the expense, which was afterwards to be refunded by an act of Parliament laying a tax on America. My plan, with my reasons in support of

it, is to be found among my political papers that were printed.*

Being the winter following in Boston, I had much conversation with Governor Shirley upon both the plans. Part of what passed between us on this occasion may also be seen among those papers.† The different and contrary reasons of dislike to my plan makes me suspect that it was really the true medium; and I am still of opinion, it would have been happy for both sides, if it had been adopted. The colonies so united would have been sufficiently strong to have defended themselves; there would then have been no need of troops from England; of course the subsequent pretext for taxing America, and the bloody contest it occasioned, would have been avoided. But such mistakes are not new; history is full of the errors of states and princes.

"Look round the habitable world, how few
Know their own good, or, knowing it, pursue!"

Those who govern, having much business on their hands, do not generally like to take the trouble of considering and carrying into execution new projects. The best public measures are therefore seldom adopted from previous wisdom, but forced by the occasion.

The Governor of Pennsylvania, in sending it down to the Assembly, expressed his approbation of the plan, "as appearing to him to be drawn up with great clearness and strength of judgment, and therefore recommended it as well worthy of their closest and most serious attention." The House, however, by the management of a certain member, took it up when I happened to be absent, which I thought not very fair, and reprobated it without paying any attention to it at all, to my no small mortification.

* See Vol. III. pp. 22–55. † Ibid. p. 56.

In my journey to Boston this year, I met at New York with our new governor, Mr. Morris, just arrived there from England, with whom I had been before intimately acquainted. He brought a commission to supersede Mr. Hamilton, who, tired with the disputes his proprietary instructions subjected him to, had resigned. Mr. Morris asked me, if I thought he must expect as uncomfortable an administration. I said, "No; you may on the contrary have a very comfortable one, if you will only take care not to enter into any dispute with the Assembly." "My dear friend," said he pleasantly, "how can you advise my avoiding disputes? You know I love disputing, it is one of my greatest pleasures; however, to show the regard I have for your counsel, I promise you I will, if possible, avoid them." He had some reason for loving to dispute, being eloquent, an acute sophister, and therefore generally successful in argumentative conversation. He had been brought up to it from a boy, his father, as I have heard, accustoming his children to dispute with one another for his diversion, while sitting at table after dinner; but I think the practice was not wise, for, in the course of my observation, those disputing, contradicting, and confuting people, are generally unfortunate in their affairs. They get victory sometimes, but they never get good will, which would be of more use to them. We parted, he going to Philadelphia, and I to Boston.

In returning I met at New York with the votes of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, by which it appeared, that, notwithstanding his promise to me, he and the House were already in high contention; and it was a continual battle between them, as long as he retained the government. I had my share of it; for, as soon as I got back to my seat in the Assembly, I was put on

every committee for answering his speeches and messages, and by the committees always desired to make the drafts. Our answers, as well as his messages, were often tart, and sometimes indecently abusive; and, as he knew I wrote for the Assembly, one might have imagined, that, when we met, we could hardly avoid cutting throats. But he was so good-natured a man, that no personal difference between him and me was occasioned by the contest, and we often dined together.

One afternoon, in the height of this public quarrel, we met in the street. "Franklin," said he, "you must go home with me and spend the evening; I am to have some company that you will like;" and, taking me by the arm, led me to his house. In gay conversation over our wine, after supper, he told us jokingly, that he much admired the idea of Sancho Panza, who, when it was proposed to give him a government, requested it might be a government of blacks; as then, if he could not agree with his people, he might sell them. One of his friends, who sat next to me, said, "Franklin, why do you continue to side with those damned Quakers? Had you not better sell them? The Proprietor would give you a good price." "The Governor," said I, "has not yet *blacked* them enough." He indeed had labored hard to blacken the Assembly in all his messages, but they wiped off his coloring as fast as he laid it on, and placed it, in return, thick upon his own face; so that, finding he was likely to be *negrofied* himself, he, as well as Mr. Hamilton, grew tired of the contest, and quitted the government.

These public quarrels were all at bottom owing to the Proprietaries, our hereditary governors; who, when any expense was to be incurred for the defence of their province, with incredible meanness, instructed their deputies to pass no act for levying the necessary

taxes, unless their vast estates were in the same act expressly exonerated; and they had even taken the bonds of these deputies to observe such instructions. The Assemblies for three years held out against this injustice, though constrained to bend at last. At length Captain Denny, who was Governor Morris's successor, ventured to disobey those instructions; how that was brought about I shall show hereafter.

But I am got forward too fast with my story; there are still some transactions to be mentioned, that happened during the administration of Governor Morris.

War being in a manner commenced with France, the government of Massachusetts Bay projected an attack upon Crown Point, and sent Mr. Quincy to Pennsylvania, and Mr. Pownall, afterwards Governor Pownall, to New York, to solicit assistance. As I was in the Assembly, knew its temper, and was Mr. Quincy's countryman, he applied to me for my influence and assistance. I dictated his address to them, which was well received. They voted an aid of ten thousand pounds, to be laid out in provisions. But, the Governor refusing his assent to their bill, (which included this with other sums granted for the use of the crown,) unless a clause were inserted, exempting the proprietary estate from bearing any part of the tax that would be necessary; the Assembly, though very desirous of making their grant to New England effectual, were at a loss how to accomplish it. Mr. Quincy labored hard with the Governor to obtain his assent, but he was obstinate.

I then suggested a method of doing the business without the Governor, by orders on the trustees of the Loan Office, which, by law, the Assembly had the right of drawing. There was indeed little or no money at the time in the office, and therefore I pro-

posed, that the orders should be payable in a year, and to bear an interest of five per cent. With these orders I supposed the provisions might easily be purchased. The Assembly, with very little hesitation, adopted the proposal. The orders were immediately printed, and I was one of the committee directed to sign and dispose of them. The fund for paying them was the interest of all the paper currency then extant in the province upon loan, together with the revenue arising from the excise, which being known to be more than sufficient, they obtained credit, and were not only taken in payment for the provisions, but many moneyed people, who had cash lying by them, vested it in those orders, which they found advantageous, as they bore interest while upon hand, and might on any occasion be used as money. So that they were eagerly all bought up, and in a few weeks none of them was to be seen. Thus this important affair was by my means completed. Mr. Quincy returned thanks to the Assembly in a handsome memorial, went home highly pleased with the success of his embassy, and ever after bore for me the most cordial and affectionate friendship.

The British government, not choosing to permit the union of the colonies as proposed at Albany, and to trust that union with their defence, lest they should thereby grow too military, and feel their own strength, suspicion and jealousies at this time being entertained of them, sent over General Braddock with two regiments of regular English troops for that purpose. He landed at Alexandria in Virginia, and thence marched to Frederictown in Maryland, where he halted for carriages. Our Assembly apprehending, from some information, that he had received violent prejudices against them, as averse to the service, wished me to wait

upon him, not as from them, but as postmaster-general, under the guise of proposing to settle with him the mode of conducting with most celerity and certainty the despatches between him and the governors of the several provinces, with whom he must necessarily have continual correspondence; and of which they proposed to pay the expense. My son accompanied me on this journey.

We found the General at Frederictown, waiting impatiently for the return of those he had sent through the back parts of Maryland and Virginia to collect wagons. I stayed with him several days, dined with him daily, and had full opportunities of removing his prejudices, by the information of what the Assembly had before his arrival actually done, and were still willing to do, to facilitate his operations. When I was about to depart, the returns of wagons to be obtained were brought in, by which it appeared, that they amounted only to twenty-five, and not all of those were in serviceable condition. The General and all the officers were surprised, declared the expedition was then at an end, being impossible; and exclaimed against the ministers for ignorantly sending them into a country destitute of the means of conveying their stores, baggage, &c., not less than one hundred and fifty wagons being necessary.

I happened to say, I thought it was a pity they had not been landed in Pennsylvania, as in that country almost every farmer had his wagon. The General eagerly laid hold of my words, and said, "Then you, Sir, who are a man of interest there, can probably procure them for us; and I beg you will undertake it." I asked what terms were to be offered the owners of the wagons; and I was desired to put on paper the terms that appeared to me necessary. This I did,

and they were agreed to, and a commission and instructions accordingly prepared immediately. What those terms were will appear in the advertisement I published as soon as I arrived at Lancaster; which being, from the great and sudden effect it produced, a piece of some curiosity, I shall insert it at length as follows.

"ADVERTISEMENT.

"Lancaster, April 26th, 1755.

"Whereas, one hundred and fifty wagons, with four horses to each wagon, and fifteen hundred saddle or pack horses, are wanted for the service of his Majesty's forces, now about to rendezvous at Will's Creek; and his Excellency General Braddock having been pleased to empower me to contract for the hire of the same; I hereby give notice, that I shall attend for that purpose at Lancaster from this day to next Wednesday evening; and at York from next Thursday morning, till Friday evening; where I shall be ready to agree for wagons and teams, or single horses, on the following terms; viz. 1. That there shall be paid for each wagon, with four good horses and a driver, fifteen shillings *per diem;* and for each able horse with a pack-saddle, or other saddle and furniture, two shillings *per diem;* and for each able horse without a saddle, eighteen pence *per diem.* 2. That the pay commence from the time of their joining the forces at Will's Creek, which must be on or before the 20th of May ensuing, and that a reasonable allowance be paid over and above for the time necessary for their travelling to Will's Creek and home again after their discharge. 3. Each wagon and team, and every saddle or pack-horse is to be valued by indifferent persons chosen between me and the owner; and. in case of the loss

of any wagon, team, or other horse in the service, the price according to such valuation is to be allowed and paid. 4. Seven days' pay is to be advanced and paid in hand by me to the owner of each wagon and team, or horse, at the time of contracting, if required; and the remainder to be paid by General Braddock, or by the paymaster of the army, at the time of their discharge; or from time to time, as it shall be demanded. 5. No drivers of wagons, or persons taking care of the hired horses, are on any account to be called upon to do the duty of soldiers, or be otherwise employed than in conducting or taking care of their carriages or horses. 6. All oats, Indian corn, or other forage that wagons or horses bring to the camp, more than is necessary for the subsistence of the horses, is to be taken for the use of the army, and a reasonable price paid for the same.

"Note. — My son, William Franklin, is empowered to enter into like contracts with any person in Cumberland County. B. FRANKLIN."

"*To the Inhabitants of the Counties of Lancaster, York, and Cumberland.*

"Friends and Countrymen,

"Being occasionally at the camp at Frederic a few days since, I found the general and officers extremely exasperated on account of their not being supplied with horses and carriages, which had been expected from this province, as most able to furnish them; but, through the dissensions between our Governor and Assembly, money had not been provided, nor any steps taken for that purpose.

"It was proposed to send an armed force immediately into these counties, to seize as many of the best

carriages and horses as should be wanted, and compel as many persons into the service as would be necessary to drive and take care of them.

"I apprehended, that the progress of British soldiers through these counties on such an occasion, especially considering the temper they are in, and their resentment against us, would be attended with many and great inconveniences to the inhabitants, and therefore more willingly took the trouble of trying first what might be done by fair and equitable means. The people of these back counties have lately complained to the Assembly, that a sufficient currency was wanting; you have an opportunity of receiving and dividing among you a very considerable sum; for, if the service of this expedition should continue, as it is more than probable it will for one hundred and twenty days, the hire of these wagons and horses will amount to upwards of thirty thousand pounds; which will be paid you in silver and gold, of the King's money.

"The service will be light and easy, for the army will scarce march above twelve miles per day, and the wagons and baggage horses, as they carry those things that are absolutely necessary to the welfare of the army, must march with the army, and no faster; and are, for the army's sake, always placed where they can be most secure, whether in a march or in a camp.

"If you are really, as I believe you are, good and loyal subjects to his Majesty, you may now do a most acceptable service, and make it easy to yourselves; for three or four of such as cannot separately spare from the business of their plantations, a wagon and four horses and a driver, may do it together; one furnishing the wagon, another one or two horses, and another the driver, and divide the pay proportionably

between you. But, if you do not this service to your King and country voluntarily, when such good pay and reasonable terms are offered to you, your loyalty will be strongly suspected. The King's business must be done; so many brave troops, come so far for your defence, must not stand idle through your backwardness to do what may be reasonably expected from you; wagons and horses must be had; violent measures will probably be used; and you will be left to seek for a recompense where you can find it, and your case perhaps be little pitied or regarded.

"I have no particular interest in this affair, as, except the satisfaction of endeavouring to do good, I shall have only my labor for my pains. If this method of obtaining the wagons and horses is not likely to succeed, I am obliged to send word to the general in fourteen days; and I suppose Sir John St. Clair, the hussar, with a body of soldiers, will immediately enter the province for the purpose; which I shall be sorry to hear, because I am very sincerely and truly your friend and well-wisher,

"B. FRANKLIN."

I received of the General about eight hundred pounds, to be disbursed in advance money to the wagon owners; but, that sum being insufficient, I advanced upwards of two hundred pounds more; and in two weeks the one hundred and fifty wagons, with two hundred and fifty-nine carrying-horses were on their march for the camp. The advertisement promised payment according to the valuation, in case any wagons or horses should be lost. The owners, however, alleging they did not know General Braddock, or what dependence might be had on his promise, insisted on

my bond for the performance; which I accordingly gave them.

While I was at the camp, supping one evening with the officers of Colonel Dunbar's regiment, he represented to me his concern for the subalterns, who, he said, were generally not in affluence, and could ill afford in this dear country to lay in the stores that might be necessary in so long a march through a wilderness, where nothing was to be purchased. I commiserated their case, and resolved to endeavour procuring them some relief. I said nothing, however, to him of my intention, but wrote the next morning to the Committee of the Assembly, who had the disposition of some public money, warmly recommending the case of these officers to their consideration, and proposing that a present should be sent them of necessaries and refreshments. My son, who had some experience of a camp life, and of its wants, drew up a list for me, which I enclosed in my letter. The committee approved, and used such diligence, that, conducted by my son, the stores arrived at the camp as soon as the wagons. They consisted of twenty parcels, each containing

6lbs. loaf sugar.	1 Gloucester cheese.
6 do. Muscovado do.	1 keg containing 20lbs. good butter.
1 do. green tea.	2 dozen old Madeira wine.
1 do. bohea do.	2 gallons Jamaica spirits.
6 do. ground coffee.	1 bottle flour of mustard.
6 do. chocolate.	2 well-cured hams.
½ chest best white biscuit.	½ dozen dried tongues.
½lb. pepper.	6lbs. rice.
1 quart white vinegar.	6lbs. raisins.

These parcels, well packed, were placed on as many horses, each parcel, with the horse, being intended as a present for one officer. They were very thankfully

received, and the kindness acknowledged by letters to me, from the colonels of both regiments, in the most grateful terms. The General too was highly satisfied with my conduct in procuring him the wagons, and readily paid my account of disbursements; thanking me repeatedly, and requesting my further assistance in sending provisions after him. I undertook this also, and was busily employed in it till we heard of his defeat; advancing for the service, of my own money, upwards of one thousand pounds sterling; of which I sent him an account. It came to his hands, luckily for me, a few days before the battle, and he returned me immediately an order on the paymaster for the round sum of one thousand pounds, leaving the remainder to the next account. I consider this payment as good luck, having never been able to obtain that remainder; of which more hereafter.

This General was, I think, a brave man, and might probably have made a figure as a good officer in some European war. But he had too much self-confidence, too high an opinion of the validity of regular troops, and too mean a one of both Americans and Indians. George Croghan, our Indian interpreter, joined him on his march with one hundred of those people, who might have been of great use to his army as guides and scouts, if he had treated them kindly; but he slighted and neglected them, and they gradually left him.

In conversation with him one day, he was giving me some account of his intended progress. "After taking Fort Duquesne," said he, "I am to proceed to Niagara; and, having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me above three or four

days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara." Having before revolved in my mind the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, "To be sure, Sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other."

He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, "These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the King's regular and disciplined troops, Sir, it is impossible they should make any impression." I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more. The enemy however did not take the advantage of his army, which I apprehended its long line of march exposed it to, but let it advance without interruption till within nine miles of the place; and then, when more in a body, (for it had just passed a river, where the front had halted till all were come over,) and in a more open part of

the woods than any it had passed, attacked its advanced guard by a heavy fire from behind trees and bushes; which was the first intelligence the general had of an enemy's being near him. This guard being disordered, the general hurried the troops up to their assistance, which was done in great confusion through wagons, baggage, and cattle; and presently the fire came upon their flank; the officers being on horseback were more easily distinguished, picked out as marks, and fell very fast; and the soldiers were crowded together in a huddle, having or hearing no orders, and standing to be shot at till two thirds of them were killed; and then, being seized with a panic, the remainder fled with precipitation.

The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and scampered; their example was immediately followed by others; so that all the wagons, provisions, artillery, and stores were left to the enemy. The General, being wounded, was brought off with difficulty; his secretary, Mr. Shirley, was killed by his side, and out of eighty-six officers sixty-three were killed or wounded; and seven hundred and fourteen men killed of eleven hundred. These eleven hundred had been picked men from the whole army; the rest had been left behind with Colonel Dunbar, who was to follow with the heavier part of the stores, provisions, and baggage. The flyers, not being pursued, arrived at Dunbar's camp, and the panic they brought with them instantly seized him and all his people. And, though he had now above one thousand men, and the enemy who had beaten Braddock did not at most exceed four hundred Indians and French together, instead of proceeding, and endeavouring to recover some of the lost honor, he ordered all the stores, ammunition, &c.,

to be destroyed, that he might have more horses to assist his flight towards the settlements, and less lumber to remove. He was there met with requests from the governors of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania, that he would post his troops on the frontiers, so as to afford some protection to the inhabitants; but he continued his hasty march through all the country, not thinking himself safe till he arrived at Philadelphia, where the inhabitants could protect him. This whole transaction gave us Americans the first suspicion, that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded.*

In their first march, too, from their landing till they got beyond the settlements, they had plundered and stripped the inhabitants, totally ruining some poor families, besides insulting, abusing, and confining the people, if they remonstrated. This was enough to put us out of conceit of such defenders, if we had really wanted any. How different was the conduct of our French friends in 1781, who, during a march through the most inhabited part of our country, from Rhode Island to Virginia, near seven hundred miles, occasioned not the smallest complaint for the loss of a pig, a chicken, or even an apple.

Captain Orme, who was one of the General's aids-de-camp, and, being grievously wounded, was brought off with him, and continued with him to his death, which happened in a few days, told me, that he was totally silent all the first day, and at night only said, "Who would have thought it?" That he was silent again the following day, saying only at last, "We shall

* There are some errors in this account of Braddock's defeat. A full description of that event may be seen in *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 468. — EDITOR.

better know how to deal with them another time;" and died in a few minutes after.

The secretary's papers, with all the General's orders, instructions, and correspondence, falling into the enemy's hands, they selected and translated into French a number of the articles, which they printed, to prove the hostile intentions of the British court before the declaration of war. Among these I saw some letters of the General to the ministry, speaking highly of the great service I had rendered the army, and recommending me to their notice.* David Hume, who was some years after secretary to Lord Hertford, when minister in France, and afterwards to General Conway, when secretary of state, told me, he had seen among the papers in that office letters from Braddock, highly recommending me. But, the expedition having been unfortunate, my service, it seems, was not thought of much value, for those recommendations were never of any use to me.

As to rewards from himself, I asked only one, which was, that he would give orders to his officers not to enlist any more of our bought servants, and that he would discharge such as had been already enlisted. This he readily granted, and several were accordingly returned to their masters, on my application. Dunbar, when the command devolved on him, was not so generous. He being at Philadelphia, on his retreat, or rather flight, I applied to him for the discharge of the servants of three poor farmers of Lancaster County, that he had enlisted, reminding him of the late general's orders on that head. He promised me, that, if the masters would come to him at Trenton, where he

* See *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 78.

should be in a few days on his march to New York, he would there deliver their men to them. They accordingly were at the expense and trouble of going to Trenton, and there he refused to perform his promise, to their great loss and disappointment.

As soon as the loss of the wagons and horses was generally known, all the owners came upon me for the valuation which I had given bond to pay. Their demands gave me a great deal of trouble. I acquainted them, that the money was ready in the paymaster's hands, but the order for paying it must first be obtained from General Shirley, and that I had applied for it; but, he being at a distance, an answer could not soon be received, and they must have patience. All this, however, was not sufficient to satisfy them, and some began to sue me. General Shirley at length relieved me from this terrible situation, by appointing commissioners to examine the claims, and ordering payment. They amounted to near twenty thousand pounds, which to pay would have ruined me.*

Before we had the news of this defeat, the two doctors Bond came to me with a subscription paper for raising money to defray the expense of a grand firework, which it was intended to exhibit at a rejoicing on receiving the news of our taking Fort Duquesne. I looked grave, and said, it would, I thought, be time enough to prepare the rejoicing when we knew we should have occasion to rejoice. They seemed surprised that I did not immediately comply with their proposal. "Why the d—l!" said one of them, "you surely don't suppose that the fort will not be taken?" "I don't know that it will not be

* See General Shirley's letter, Vol. VII. p. 94. Also, p. 96.

taken; but I know that the events of war are subject to great uncertainty." I gave them the reasons of my doubting; the subscription was dropped, and the projectors thereby missed the mortification they would have undergone, if the firework had been prepared. Dr. Bond, on some other occasion afterwards, said, that he did not like Franklin's forebodings.*

* At this time, in conjunction with several other gentlemen, Franklin was actively engaged in carrying into effect a benevolent plan for improving the condition of the German population in America. At his press was printed a tract entitled, "A Brief History of the Rise and Progress of the Charitable Scheme, carrying on by a Society of Noblemen and Gentlemen in London, for the Relief and Instruction of poor Germans and their Descendants in Pennsylvania and the adjacent Colonies in North America. Published by Order of the Trustees appointed for the Management of the said Charitable Scheme. Philadelphia; 1755." The Trustees were James Hamilton, William Allen, Richard Peters, Benjamin Franklin, Conrad Weiser, and William Smith. The objects in view were to provide missionaries and teachers of schools, and to render such relief as particular cases might require. For an interesting letter on the condition of the Germans in Pennsylvania, see Vol. VII. p. 66. — Editor.

CHAPTER XI.

Appointed One of the Commissioners for appropriating the public Money for military Defence. — Proposes a Militia Bill, which passes the Assembly. — Commissioned to take Charge of the Frontier, and build a Line of Forts. — Marches at the Head of a Body of Troops. — Account of the March. — Operations at Gnadenhutten. — Indian Massacres. — Moravians at Bethlehem. — Returns to Philadelphia. — Chosen Colonel of a Regiment. — Journey to Virginia. — Declines accepting the Governor's Proposal to lead an Expedition against Fort Duquesne. — Account of his Electrical Discoveries. — Chosen a Member of the Royal Society. — Receives the Copley Medal.

GOVERNOR MORRIS, who had continually worried the Assembly with message after message before the defeat of Braddock, to beat them into the making of acts to raise money for the defence of the province, without taxing among others the proprietary estates, and had rejected all their bills for not having such an exempting clause, now redoubled his attacks with more hope of success, the danger and necessity being greater. The Assembly however continued firm, believing they had justice on their side, and that it would be giving up an essential right, if they suffered the Governor to amend their money bills. In one of the last, indeed, which was for granting fifty thousand pounds, his proposed amendment was only of a single word. The bill expressed, "that all estates real and personal were to be taxed; those of the proprietaries *not* excepted." His amendment was; for *not* read *only*. A small, but very material alteration. However, when the news of the disaster reached England, our friends there, whom we had taken care to furnish with all the Assembly's answers to the Governor's messages, raised a clamor against the Proprietaries for their meanness and injustice in giving their governor such instructions; some

going so far as to say, that, by obstructing the defence of their province, they forfeited their right to it. They were intimidated by this; and sent orders to their receiver-general to add five thousand pounds of their money to whatever sum might be given by the Assembly for such purpose.

This, being testified to the House, was accepted in lieu of their share of a general tax, and a new bill was formed with an exempting clause, which passed accordingly. By this act I was appointed one of the commissioners for disposing of the money, sixty thousand pounds. I had been active in modelling the bill, and procuring its passage; and had at the same time drawn one for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia; which I carried through the House without much difficulty, as care was taken in it to leave the Quakers at liberty. To promote the association necessary to form the militia, I wrote a Dialogue stating and answering all the objections I could think of to such a militia; which was printed, and had, as I thought, great effect.*

While the several companies in the city and country were forming, and learning their exercise, the Governor prevailed with me to take charge of our North-western frontier, which was infested by the enemy, and provide for the defence of the inhabitants by raising troops and building a line of forts. I undertook this military business, though I did not conceive myself well qualified for it. He gave me a commission with full powers, and a parcel of blank commissions for officers, to be given to whom I thought fit. I had but little difficulty in raising men, having soon five hundred and sixty under my command. My son, who had in the

* See Vol. III. pp. 78, 84.

preceding war been an officer in the army raised against Canada, was my aid-de-camp, and of great use to me. The Indians had burned Gnadenhutten, a village settled by the Moravians, and massacred the inhabitants; but the place was thought a good situation for one of the forts.

In order to march thither, I assembled the companies at Bethlehem, the chief establishment of these people. I was surprised to find it in so good a posture of defence; the destruction of Gnadenhutten had made them apprehend danger. The principal buildings were defended by a stockade; they had purchased a quantity of arms and ammunition from New York, and had even placed quantities of small paving stones between the windows of their high stone houses, for their women to throw them down upon the heads of any Indians, that should attempt to force into them. The armed brethren too kept watch, and relieved each other on guard, as methodically as in any garrison town. In conversation with the Bishop, Spangenberg, I mentioned my surprise; for, knowing they had obtained an act of Parliament exempting them from military duties in the colonies, I had supposed they were conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms. He answered me, that it was not one of their established principles; but that, at the time of their obtaining that act, it was thought to be a principle with many of their people. On this occasion, however, they to their surprise found it adopted by but a few. It seems they were either deceived in themselves, or deceived the Parliament; but common sense, aided by present danger, will sometimes be too strong for whimsical opinions.

It was the beginning of January when we set out upon this business of building forts. I sent one detachment towards the Minisink, with instructions to

erect one for the security of that upper part of the country; and another to the lower part, with similar instructions; and I concluded to go myself with the rest of my force to Gnadenhutten, where a fort was thought more immediately necessary. The Moravians procured me five wagons for our tools, stores, and baggage.

Just before we left Bethlehem, eleven farmers, who had been driven from their plantations by the Indians, came to me requesting a supply of firearms, that they might go back and bring off their cattle. I gave them each a gun with suitable ammunition. We had not marched many miles, before it began to rain, and it continued raining all day; there were no habitations on the road to shelter us, till we arrived near night at the house of a German, where, and in his barn, we were all huddled together as wet as water could make us. It was well we were not attacked in our march, for our arms were of the most ordinary sort, and our men could not keep the locks of their guns dry. The Indians are dexterous in contrivances for that purpose, which we had not. They met that day the eleven poor farmers above mentioned, and killed ten of them. The one that escaped informed us, that his and his companions' guns would not go off, the priming being wet with the rain.

The next day being fair, we continued our march, and arrived at the desolated Gnadenhutten. There was a mill near, round which were left several pine boards, with which we soon hutted ourselves; an operation the more necessary at that inclement season, as we had no tents. Our first work was to bury more effectually the dead we found there, who had been half-interred by the country people.

The next morning our fort was planned and marked out; the circumference measuring four hundred and

fifty-five feet, which would require as many palisades to be made, one with another, of a foot diameter each. Our axes, of which we had seventy, were immediately set to work to cut down trees; and, our men being dexterous in the use of them, great despatch was made. Seeing the trees fall so fast, I had the curiosity to look at my watch when two men began to cut at a pine; in six minutes they had it upon the ground, and I found it of fourteen inches diameter. Each pine made three palisades of eighteen feet long, pointed at one end. While these were preparing, our other men dug a trench all round, of three feet deep, in which the palisades were to be planted; and, the bodies being taken off our wagons, and the fore and hind wheels separated by taking out the pin which united the two parts of the perch, we had ten carriages, with two horses each, to bring the palisades from the woods to the spot. When they were set up, our carpenters built a platform of boards all round within, about six feet high, for the men to stand on when to fire through the loopholes. We had one swivel gun, which we mounted on one of the angles, and fired it as soon as fixed, to let the Indians know, if any were within hearing, that we had such pieces; and thus our fort, if that name may be given to so miserable a stockade, was finished in a week, though it rained so hard every other day, that the men could not work.

This gave me occasion to observe, that, when men are employed, they are best contented; for on the days they worked they were good-natured and cheerful, and, with the consciousness of having done a good day's work, they spent the evening jollily; but on our idle days they were mutinous and quarrelsome, finding fault with the pork, the bread, &c., and were continually in bad humor; which put me in mind of a sea

captain, whose rule it was to keep his men constantly at work; and, when his mate once told him, that they had done every thing, and there was nothing further to employ them about: "O," said he, "make them scour the anchor."

This kind of fort, however contemptible, is a sufficient defence against Indians, who have no cannon. Finding ourselves now posted securely, and having a place to retreat to on occasion, we ventured out in parties to scour the adjacent country. We met with no Indians, but we found the places on the neighbouring hills, where they had lain to watch our proceedings. There was an art in their contrivance of those places, that seems worth mentioning. It being winter, a fire was necessary for them; but a common fire on the surface of the ground would by its light have discovered their position at a distance. They had therefore dug holes in the ground about three feet diameter, and somewhat deeper; we found where they had with their hatchets cut off the charcoal from the sides of burnt logs lying in the woods. With these coals they had made small fires in the bottom of the holes, and we observed among the weeds and grass the prints of their bodies, made by their lying all round with their legs hanging down in the holes to keep their feet warm; which with them is an essential point. This kind of fire so managed could not discover them either by its light, flame, sparks, or even smoke; it appeared that the number was not great, and it seems they saw we were too many to be attacked by them with prospect of advantage.

We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me, that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted they were promised, besides

pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually served out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observed they were punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, "It is perhaps below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum; but if you were only to distribute it out after prayers, you would have them all about you." He liked the thought, undertook the task, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction; and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended. So that I think this method preferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.*

I had hardly finished this business, and got my fort well stored with provisions, when I received a letter from the Governor, acquainting me, that he had called the Assembly, and wished my attendance there, if the posture of affairs on the frontiers was such that my remaining there was no longer necessary. My friends too of the Assembly pressing me by their letters to be, if possible, at the meeting; and, my three intended forts being now completed, and the inhabitants contented to remain on their farms under that protection, I resolved to return; the more willingly, as a New England officer, Colonel Clapham, experienced in Indian war, being on a visit to our establishment, consented to accept the command. I gave him a commission, and, parading the garrison, had it read before them; and introduced him to them as an officer, who, from his skill in military affairs, was much more fit to command them than myself; and, giving them a little ex-

* For other particulars respecting these military transactions, see Vol. VII. pp. 101 - 112.

hortation, took my leave. I was escorted as far as Bethlehem, where I rested a few days to recover from the fatigue I had undergone. The first night, lying in a good bed, I could hardly sleep, it was so different from my hard lodging on the floor of a hut at Gnadenhutten, with only a blanket or two.

While at Bethlehem, I inquired a little into the practices of the Moravians; some of them had accompanied me, and all were very kind to me. I found they worked for a common stock, ate at common tables, and slept in common dormitories, great numbers together. In the dormitories I observed loopholes, at certain distances all along just under the ceiling, which I thought judiciously placed for change of air. I went to their church, where I was entertained with good music, the organ being accompanied with violins, hautboys, flutes, clarinets, &c. I understood their sermons were not usually preached to mixed congregations of men, women, and children, as is our common practice; but that they assembled sometimes the married men, at other times their wives, then the young men, the young women, and the little children; each division by itself. The sermon I heard was to the latter, who came in and were placed in rows on benches; the boys under the conduct of a young man, their tutor, and the girls conducted by a young woman. The discourse seemed well adapted to their capacities, and was delivered in a pleasing, familiar manner, coaxing them, as it were, to be good. They behaved very orderly, but looked pale and unhealthy; which made me suspect they were kept too much within doors, or not allowed sufficient exercise.

I inquired concerning the Moravian marriages, whether the report was true, that they were by lot. I was told, that lots were used only in particular cases; that

generally, when a young man found himself disposed to marry, he informed the elders of his class, who consulted the elder ladies, that governed the young women. As these elders of the different sexes were well acquainted with the tempers and dispositions of their respective pupils, they could best judge what matches were suitable, and their judgments were generally acquiesced in. But if, for example, it should happen, that two or three young women were found to be equally proper for the young man, the lot was then recurred to. I objected, if the matches are not made by the mutual choice of the parties, some of them may chance to be very unhappy. "And so they may," answered my informer, "if you let the parties choose for themselves." Which indeed I could not deny.

Being returned to Philadelphia, I found the Association went on with great success. The inhabitants that were not Quakers, having pretty generally come into it, formed themselves into companies, and chose their captains, lieutenants, and ensigns, according to the new law. Dr. Bond visited me, and gave me an account of the pains he had taken to spread a general good liking to the law, and ascribed much to those endeavours. I had the vanity to ascribe all to my *Dialogue;* however, not knowing but that he might be in the right, I let him enjoy his opinion; which I take to be generally the best way in such cases. The officers, meeting, chose me to be colonel of the regiment, which I this time accepted. I forget how many companies we had, but we paraded about twelve hundred well-looking men, with a company of artillery, who had been furnished with six brass fieldpieces, which they had become so expert in the use of, as to fire twelve times in a minute. The first time I re-

viewed my regiment, they accompanied me to my house, and would salute me with some rounds fired before my door, which shook down and broke several glasses of my electrical apparatus. And my new honor proved not much less brittle; for all our commissions were soon after broken, by a repeal of the law in England.*

During this short time of my colonelship, being about to set out on a journey to Virginia, the officers of my regiment took it into their heads, that it would be

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* The following account of these transactions was published in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 25th, 1756.

"On Thursday last the Philadelphia regiment, consisting of upwards of one thousand able-bodied, effective men, besides officers, was drawn up under arms, on Society Hill, and reviewed by the Colonel. Each company met in the morning at the houses of their respective captains, and marched down Second Street till they came near the New Market; where the first company halted, drew up in platoons, and waited till the second company came up; and then each platoon of the first company fired retreating, according to the manner of street-firing; and the second company at the same time advanced, and fired in like manner, till they got possession of the other's ground. The third company then advanced, disputed and took the ground from the second; and so on, each company advancing and retreating in their turns; the artillery company, consisting of upwards of one hundred men, with four *neatly painted* cannon, drawn by some of the largest and most stately horses in the Province, being the company that last took possession of the ground. The whole were then drawn up in battalion, according to seniority; and, after being reviewed, and performing the manual exercise, marched through the town in three grand divisions.

"When the regiment came opposite to the Colonel's door, they were again drawn up in battalion, and made one general discharge of small arms, and several discharges of cannon. Then the several companies marched off to their respective places of rendezvous, and saluted their captains, on being dismissed, with a discharge of their firearms. The whole was conducted with the greatest order and regularity, and, notwithstanding the vast concourse of people, not the least accident happened to any one. It is allowed, on all hands, that most of the platoon firings, the general fire of the regiment, and the discharge of the artillery, were nearly as well performed as they could be by any troops whatever. And it is likewise agreed, that so grand an appearance was never before seen in Pennsylvania." — Editor.

proper for them to escort me out of town, as far as the Lower Ferry. Just as I was getting on horseback they came to my door, between thirty and forty, mounted, and all in their uniforms. I had not been previously acquainted with their project, or I should have prevented it, being naturally averse to the assuming of state on any occasion; and I was a good deal chagrined at their appearance, as I could not avoid their accompanying me. What made it worse was, that, as soon as we began to move, they drew their swords and rode with them naked all the way. Somebody wrote an account of this to the Proprietor, and it gave him great offence. No such honor had been paid to him, when in the province; nor to any of his governors; and he said, it was only proper to princes of the blood royal; which may be true for aught I know, who was, and still am, ignorant of the etiquette in such cases.

This silly affair, however, greatly increased his rancor against me, which was before considerable on account of my conduct in the Assembly respecting the exemption of his estate from taxation, which I had always opposed very warmly, and not without severe reflections on the meanness and injustice of contending for it. He accused me to the ministry, as being the great obstacle to the King's service, preventing by my influence in the House the proper form of the bills for raising money; and he instanced the parade with my officers, as a proof of my having an intention to take the government of the province out of his hands by force. He also applied to Sir Everard Fawkener, the Postmaster-general, to deprive me of my office. But it had no other effect than to procure from Sir Everard a gentle admonition.

Notwithstanding the continual wrangle between the

Governor and the House, in which I as a member had so large a share, there still subsisted a civil intercourse between that gentleman and myself, and we never had any personal difference. I have sometimes since thought, that his little or no resentment against me, for the answers it was known I drew up to his messages, might be the effect of professional habit, and that, being bred a lawyer, he might consider us both as merely advocates for contending clients in a suit; he for the Proprietaries, and I for the Assembly. He would therefore sometimes call in a friendly way to advise with me on difficult points; and sometimes, though not often, take my advice.

We acted in concert to supply Braddock's army with provisions; and, when the shocking news arrived of his defeat, the Governor sent in haste for me, to consult with him on measures for preventing the desertion of the back counties. I forget now the advice I gave; but I think it was, that Dunbar should be written to, and prevailed with, if possible, to post his troops on the frontiers for their protection, until, by reinforcements from the colonies, he might be able to proceed in the expedition. And, after my return from the frontier, he would have had me undertake the conduct of such an expedition with provincial troops, for the reduction of Fort Duquesne, Dunbar and his men being otherwise employed; and he proposed to commission me as general. I had not so good an opinion of my military abilities as he professed to have, and I believe his professions must have exceeded his real sentiments; but probably he might think, that my popularity would facilitate the business with the men, and influence in the Assembly the grant of money to pay for it; and that perhaps without taxing the Proprietary. Finding me not so forward to engage as he

expected, the project was dropped; and he soon after left the government, being superseded by Captain Denny.

Before I proceed in relating the part I had in public affairs under this new governor's administration, it may not be amiss to give here some account of the rise and progress of my philosophical reputation.

In 1746, being in Boston, I met there with a Dr. Spence, who was lately arrived from Scotland, and showed me some electric experiments. They were imperfectly performed, as he was not very expert; but, being on a subject quite new to me, they equally surprised and pleased me. Soon after my return to Philadelphia, our library company received from Mr. Peter Collinson, Fellow of the Royal Society of London, a present of a glass tube, with some account of the use of it in making such experiments. I eagerly seized the opportunity of repeating what I had seen at Boston; and, by much practice, acquired great readiness in performing those also, which we had an account of from England, adding a number of new ones. I say much practice, for my house was continually full, for some time, with persons who came to see these new wonders.

To divide a little this incumbrance among my friends, I caused a number of similar tubes to be blown in our glasshouse, with which they furnished themselves, so that we had at length several performers. Among these the principal was Mr. Kinnersley, an ingenious neighbour, who being out of business, I encouraged him to undertake showing the experiments for money, and drew up for him two lectures, in which the experiments were ranged in such order, and accompanied with explanations in such method, as that the foregoing should assist in comprehending the follow-

ing. He procured an elegant apparatus for the purpose, in which all the little machines that I had roughly made for myself were neatly formed by instrument makers. His lectures were well attended, and gave great satisfaction; and after some time he went through the colonies, exhibiting them in every capital town, and picked up some money. In the West India Islands, indeed, it was with difficulty the experiments could be made, from the general moisture of the air.

Obliged as we were to Mr. Collinson for the present of the tube, &c., I thought it right he should be informed of our success in using it, and wrote him several letters containing accounts of our experiments.* He got them read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much notice as to be printed in their *Transactions*. One paper, which I wrote for Mr. Kinnersley, on the sameness of lightning with electricity, I sent to Mr. Mitchel, an acquaintance of mine, and one of the members also of that Society; who wrote me word, that it had been read, but was laughed at by the connoisseurs. The papers, however, being shown to Dr. Fothergill, he thought them of too much value to be stifled, and advised the printing of them. Mr. Collinson then gave them to Cave for publication in his *Gentleman's Magazine;* but he chose to print them separately in a pamphlet, and Dr. Fothergill wrote the preface. Cave, it seems, judged rightly for his profession, for by the additions, that arrived afterwards, they swelled to a quarto volume; which has had five editions, and cost him nothing for copy-money.

It was however some time before those papers were much taken notice of in England. A copy of them happening to fall into the hands of the Count de Buf-

* See Vol. V. p. 180.

fon, a philosopher deservedly of great reputation in France, and indeed all over Europe, he prevailed with M. Dubourg to translate them into French; and they were printed at Paris. The publication offended the Abbé Nollet, Preceptor in Natural Philosophy to the Royal Family, and an able experimenter, who had formed and published a theory of electricity, which then had the general vogue. He could not at first believe, that such a work came from America, and said it must have been fabricated by his enemies at Paris, to oppose his system. Afterwards, having been assured, that there really existed such a person as Franklin at Philadelphia, which he had doubted, he wrote and published a volume of Letters, chiefly addressed to me, defending his theory, and denying the verity of my experiments, and of the positions deduced from them.

I once purposed answering the Abbé, and actually began the answer; but, on consideration that my writings contained a description of experiments, which any one might repeat and verify, and, if not to be verified, could not be defended; or of observations offered as *conjectures*, and not delivered dogmatically, therefore not laying me under any obligation to defend them; and reflecting, that a dispute between two persons, written in different languages, might be lengthened greatly by mistranslations, and thence misconceptions of one another's meaning, much of one of the Abbé's letters being founded on an error in the translation, I concluded to let my papers shift for themselves; believing it was better to spend what time I could spare from public business in making new experiments, than in disputing about those already made. I therefore never answered M. Nollet; and the event gave me no cause to repent my silence; for my friend M. Le Roy, of the Royal Academy of Sciences, took up my cause

and refuted him; my book was translated into the Italian, German, and Latin languages; and the doctrine it contained was by degrees generally adopted by the philosophers of Europe, in preference to that of the Abbé; so that he lived to see himself the last of his sect, except Monsieur B——, of Paris, his *élève* and immediate disciple.

What gave my book the more sudden and general celebrity, was the success of one of its proposed experiments, made by Messieurs Dalibard and De Lor at Marly, for drawing lightning from the clouds. This engaged the public attention everywhere. M. De Lor, who had an apparatus for experimental philosophy, and lectured in that branch of science, undertook to repeat what he called the *Philadelphia Experiments;* and, after they were performed before the King and court, all the curious of Paris flocked to see them. I will not swell this narrative with an account of that capital experiment, nor of the infinite pleasure I received in the success of a similar one I made soon after with a kite at Philadelphia, as both are to be found in the histories of electricity.

Dr. Wright, an English physician, when at Paris, wrote to a friend, who was of the Royal Society, an account of the high esteem my experiments were in among the learned abroad, and of their wonder, that my writings had been so little noticed in England. The Society on this resumed the consideration of the letters that had been read to them; and the celebrated Dr. Watson drew up a summary account of them, and of all I had afterwards sent to England on the subject; which he accompanied with some praise of the writer.* This summary was then printed in their *Trans-*

* See Vol. V. p. 487.

actions; and, some members of the Society in London, particularly the very ingenious Mr. Canton, having verified the experiment of procuring lightning from the clouds by a pointed rod, and acquainted them with the success, they soon made me more than amends for the slight with which they had before treated me. Without my having made any application for that honor, they chose me a member; and voted, that I should be excused the customary payments, which would have amounted to twenty-five guineas; and ever since have given me their *Transactions* gratis.* They also pre-

* Dr. Franklin gives a further account of his election, in a letter to his son, Governor Franklin, from which the following is an extract.

"London, 19 December, 1767.

"We have had an ugly affair at the Royal Society lately. One Dacosta, a Jew, who, as our clerk, was intrusted with collecting our moneys, has been so unfaithful as to embezzle near thirteen hundred pounds in four years. Being one of the Council this year, as well as the last, I have been employed all the last week in attending the inquiry into, and unravelling, his accounts, in order to come at a full knowledge of his frauds. His securities are bound in one thousand pounds to the Society, which they will pay, but we shall probably lose the rest. He had this year received twenty-six admission payments of twenty-five guineas each, which he did not bring to account.

"While attending to this affair, I had an opportunity of looking over the old council-books and journals of the society, and, having a curiosity to see how I came in, of which I had never been informed, I looked back for the minutes relating to it. You must know, it is not usual to admit persons that have not requested to be admitted; and a recommendatory certificate in favor of the candidate, signed by at least three of the members, is by our rule to be presented to the Society, expressing that he is desirous of that honor, and is so and so qualified. As I never had asked or expected the honor, I was, as I said before, curious to see how the business was managed. I found that the certificate, worded very advantageously for me, was signed by Lord Macclesfield, then President, Lord Parker, and Lord Willoughby; that the election was by a unanimous vote; and, the honor being voluntarily conferred by the Society, unsolicited by me, it was thought wrong to demand or receive the usual fees or composition; so that my name was entered on the list with a vote of council, *that I was not to pay any thing.* And accordingly nothing has ever been demanded of me. Those, who are

sented me with the gold medal of Sir Godfrey Copley, for the year 1753, the delivery of which was accompanied by a very handsome speech of the president, Lord Macclesfield, wherein I was highly honored.*

admitted in the common way, pay five guineas admission fees, and two guineas and a half yearly contribution, or twenty-five guineas down, in lieu of it. In my case a substantial favor accompanied the honor." — W. T. F.

* See this Speech, Vol. V. p. 499.

CHAPTER XII.

Conversations with Governor Denny. — Disputes between the Governor and Assembly. — Deputed by the Assembly to present a Petition to the King, and to act in England as an Agent for Pennsylvania. — Meets Lord Loudoun in New York. — Anecdotes illustrating his Character. — Sails from New York. — Incidents of the Voyage. — Arrives in England.

Our new governor, Captain Denny, brought over for me the beforementioned medal from the Royal Society, which he presented to me at an entertainment given him by the city. He accompanied it with very polite expressions of his esteem for me, having, as he said, been long acquainted with my character. After dinner, when the company, as was customary at that time, were engaged in drinking, he took me aside into another room, and acquainted me, that he had been advised by his friends in England to cultivate a friendship with me, as one who was capable of giving him the best advice, and of contributing most effectually to the making his administration easy. That he therefore desired of all things to have a good understanding with me, and he begged me to be assured of his readiness on all occasions to render me every service that might be in his power. He said much to me also of the Proprietor's good disposition towards the province, and of the advantage it would be to us all, and to me in particular, if the opposition that had been so long continued to his measures was dropped, and harmony restored between him and the people; in effecting which it was thought no one could be more serviceable than myself; and I might depend on adequate acknowledgments and recompenses. The drinkers, finding we did not return immediately

to the table, sent us a decanter of madeira, which the Governor made a liberal use of, and in proportion became more profuse of his solicitations and promises.

My answers were to this purpose; that my circumstances, thanks to God, were such as to make proprietary favors unnecessary to me; and that, being a member of the Assembly, I could not possibly accept of any; that, however, I had no personal enmity to the Proprietary, and that, whenever the public measures he proposed should appear to be for the good of the people, no one would espouse and forward them more zealously than myself; my past opposition having been founded on this, that the measures which had been urged were evidently intended to serve the proprietary interest, with great prejudice to that of the people. That I was much obliged to him (the Governor) for his profession of regard to me, and that he might rely on every thing in my power to render his administration as easy to him as possible, hoping at the same time that he had not brought with him the same unfortunate instructions his predecessors had been hampered with.

On this he did not then explain himself; but, when he afterwards came to do business with the Assembly, they appeared again, the disputes were renewed, and I was as active as ever in the opposition, being the penman, first of the request to have a communication of the instructions, and then of the remarks upon them, which may be found in the Votes of the times, and in the *Historical Review* I afterwards published.* But between us personally no enmity arose; we were often together; he was a man of letters, had seen much of the world, and was entertaining and pleasing in con-

* See Vol. III. p. 107; VII. p. 208.

versation. He gave me information, that my old friend Ralph was still alive; that he was esteemed one of the best political writers in England; had been employed in the dispute between Prince Frederic and the King, and had obtained a pension of three hundred pounds a year; that his reputation was indeed small as a poet, Pope having damned his poetry in the Dunciad; but his prose was thought as good as any man's.

The Assembly finally finding the Proprietary obstinately persisted in shackling the deputies with instructions inconsistent not only with the privileges of the people, but with the service of the crown, resolved to petition the King against them, and appointed me their agent to go over to England, to present and support the petition. The House had sent up a bill to the Governor, granting a sum of sixty thousand pounds for the King's use, (ten thousand pounds of which was subjected to the orders of the then general, Lord Loudoun,) which the Governor, in compliance with his instructions, absolutely refused to pass.

I had agreed with Captain Morris, of the packet at New York, for my passage, and my stores were put on board; when Lord Loudoun arrived at Philadelphia, expressly as he told me, to endeavour an accommodation between the Governor and Assembly, that his Majesty's service might not be obstructed by their dissensions. Accordingly he desired the Governor and myself to meet him, that he might hear what was to be said on both sides. We met and discussed the business. In behalf of the Assembly, I urged the various arguments, that may be found in the public papers of that time, which were of my writing, and are printed with the minutes of the Assembly; and the Governor pleaded his instructions, the bond he had given to observe them, and his ruin if he disobeyed;

yet seemed not unwilling to hazard himself, if Lord Loudoun would advise it. This his Lordship did not choose to do, though I once thought I had nearly prevailed with him to do it; but finally he rather chose to urge the compliance of the Assembly; and he entreated me to use my endeavours with them for that purpose, declaring that he would spare none of the King's troops for the defence of our frontiers, and that, if we did not continue to provide for that defence ourselves, they must remain exposed to the enemy.

I acquainted the House with what had passed, and, presenting them with a set of resolutions I had drawn up, declaring our rights, that we did not relinquish our claim to those rights, but only suspended the exercise of them on this occasion, through *force*, against which we protested, they at length agreed to drop that bill, and frame another conformable to the proprietary instructions. This of course the Governor passed, and I was then at liberty to proceed on my voyage. But in the mean time the packet had sailed with my sea-stores, which was some loss to me, and my only recompense was his Lordship's thanks for my service; all the credit of obtaining the accommodation falling to his share.

He set out for New York before me; and, as the time for despatching the packetboats was at his disposition, and there were two then remaining there, one of which, he said, was to sail very soon, I requested to know the precise time, that I might not miss her by any delay of mine. The answer was; "I have given out that she is to sail on Saturday next; but I may let you know, *entre nous*, that if you are there by Monday morning, you will be in time, but do not delay longer." By some accidental hindrance at a ferry, it was Monday noon before I arrived, and I was much

afraid she might have sailed, as the wind was fair; but I was soon made easy by the information, that she was still in the harbour, and would not move till the next day. One would imagine, that I was now on the very point of departing for Europe. I thought so; but I was not then so well acquainted with his Lordship's character, of which *indecision* was one of the strongest features. I shall give some instances. It was about the beginning of April, that I came to New York, and I think it was near the end of June before we sailed. There were then two of the packetboats, which had been long in readiness, but were detained for the general's letters, which were always to be ready *to-morrow*. Another packet arrived; she too was detained; and, before we sailed, a fourth was expected. Ours was the first to be despatched, as having been there longest. Passengers were engaged for all, and some extremely impatient to be gone, and the merchants uneasy about their letters, and for the orders they had given for insurance, (it being war time,) and for autumnal goods; but their anxiety availed nothing; his Lordship's letters were not ready; and yet whoever waited on him found him always at his desk, pen in hand. and concluded he must needs write abundantly.

Going myself one morning to pay my respects, I found in his antechamber one Innis, a messenger of Philadelphia, who had come thence express, with a packet from Governor Denny, for the general. He delivered to me some letters from my friends there, which occasioned my inquiring, when he was to return, and where he lodged, that I might send some letters by him. He told me, he was ordered to call to-morrow at nine for the general's answer to the Governor, and should set off immediately. I put my letters into his

hands the same day. A fortnight after I met him again in the same place. "So, you are soon returned, Innis?" "Returned! no, I am not gone yet." "How so?" "I have called here this and every morning these two weeks past for his Lordship's letters, and they are not yet ready." "Is it possible, when he is so great a writer; for I see him constantly at his escritoire?" "Yes," said Innis, "but he is like St. George, on the signs, *always on horseback, and never rides on.*" This observation of the messenger was, it seems, well founded; for, when in England, I understood that Mr. Pitt, afterwards Lord Chatham, gave it as one reason for removing this general, and sending Generals Amherst and Wolfe, *that the minister never heard from him, and could not know what he was doing.*

In this daily expectation of sailing, and all the three packets going down to Sandy Hook, to join the fleet there, the passengers thought it best to be on board, lest by a sudden order the ships should sail, and they be left behind. There, if I remember, we were about six weeks, consuming our sea-stores, and obliged to procure more. At length the fleet sailed, the general and all his army on board, bound to Louisburg, with intent to besiege and take that fortress; and all the packetboats in company were ordered to attend the general's ship ready to receive his despatches, when they should be ready. We were out five days before we got a letter with leave to part; and then our ship quitted the fleet and steered for England. The other two packets he still detained, carried them with him to Halifax, where he stayed some time to exercise the men in sham attacks upon sham forts, then altered his mind as to besieging Louisburg, and returned to New York, with all his troops, together with the two packets above mentioned, and all their passengers! During

his absence the French and savages had taken Fort George, on the frontier of that province, and the Indians had massacred many of the garrison after capitulation.

I saw afterwards in London, Captain Bound, who commanded one of those packets. He told me, that, when he had been detained a month, he acquainted his Lordship, that his ship was grown foul, to a degree that must necessarily hinder her fast sailing, a point of consequence for a packetboat, and requested an allowance of time to heave her down and clean her bottom. His Lordship asked how long time that would require. He answered, three days. The General replied, "If you can do it in one day, I give leave; otherwise not; for you must certainly sail the day after to-morrow." So he never obtained leave, though detained afterwards from day to day during full three months.

I saw also in London one of Bonell's passengers, who was so enraged against his Lordship for deceiving and detaining him so long at New York, and then carrying him to Halifax and back again, that he swore he would sue him for damages. Whether he did or not, I never heard; but, as he represented it, the injury to his affairs was very considerable.

On the whole, I wondered much how such a man came to be intrusted with so important a business, as the conduct of a great army; but, having since seen more of the great world, and the means of obtaining, and motives for giving, places and employments, my wonder is diminished. General Shirley, on whom the command of the army devolved, upon the death of Braddock, would, in my opinion, if continued in place, have made a much better campaign than that of Loudoun, in 1756, which was frivolous, expensive, and disgraceful to our nation beyond conception. For, though

Shirley was not bred a soldier, he was sensible and sagacious in himself, and attentive to good advice from others, capable of forming judicious plans, and quick and active in carrying them into execution. Loudoun, instead of defending the colonies with his great army, left them totally exposed, while he paraded idly at Halifax, by which means Fort George was lost; besides, he deranged all our mercantile operations, and, distressed our trade, by a long embargo on the exportation of provisions, on pretence of keeping supplies from being obtained by the enemy, but in reality for beating down their price in favor of the contractors, in whose profits, it was said, perhaps from suspicion only, he had a share; and, when at length the embargo was taken off, neglecting to send notice of it to Charleston, where the Carolina fleet was detained near three months; and whereby their bottoms were so much damaged by the worm, that a great part of them foundered in their passage home.

Shirley was, I believe, sincerely glad of being relieved from so burdensome a charge, as the conduct of an army must be to a man unacquainted with military business. I was at the entertainment given by the city of New York to Lord Loudoun, on his taking upon him the command. Shirley, though thereby superseded, was present also. There was a great company of officers, citizens, and strangers, and, some chairs having been borrowed in the neighbourhood, there was one among them very low, which fell to the lot of Mr. Shirley. I sat by him, and perceiving it, I said, "They have given you a very low seat." "No matter, Mr. Franklin," said he, "I find *a low seat* the easiest."

While I was, as before mentioned, detained at New York, I received all the accounts of the provisions, &c., that I had furnished to Braddock, some of which

accounts could not sooner be obtained from the different persons I had employed to assist in the business. I presented them to Lord Loudoun, desiring to be paid the balance. He caused them to be examined by the proper officer, who, after comparing every article with its voucher, certified them to be right; and his Lordship promised to give me an order on the paymaster for the balance due to me. This was, however, put off from time to time; and, though I called often for it by appointment, I did not get it. At length, just before my departure, he told me he had, on better consideration, concluded not to mix his accounts with those of his predecessors. "And you," said he, "when in England, have only to exhibit your accounts to the treasury, and you will be paid immediately."

I mentioned, but without effect, a great and unexpected expense I had been put to by being detained so long at New York, as a reason for my desiring to be presently paid; and, on my observing, that it was not right I should be put to any further trouble or delay in obtaining the money I had advanced, as I charged no commission for my service, "O," said he, "you must not think of persuading us, that you are no gainer; we understand better those matters, and know, that every one concerned in supplying the army finds means, in the doing it, to fill his own pockets." I assured him, that was not my case, and that I had not pocketed a farthing; but he appeared clearly not to believe me; and indeed I afterwards learned, that immense fortunes are often made in such employments. As to my balance, I am not paid it to this day; of which more hereafter.

Our captain of the packet boasted much, before we sailed, of the swiftness of his ship; unfortunately, when we came to sea, she proved the dullest of ninety-six

sail, to his no small mortification. After many conjectures respecting the cause, when we were near another ship almost as dull as ours, which, however, gained upon us, the captain ordered all hands to come aft and stand as near the ensign staff as possible. We were, passengers included, about forty persons. While we stood there, the ship mended her pace, and soon left her neighbour far behind, which proved clearly what our captain suspected, that she was loaded too much by the head. The casks of water, it seems, had been all placed forward; these he therefore ordered to be moved further aft, on which the ship recovered her character, and proved the best sailer in the fleet.

The captain said, she had once gone at the rate of thirteen knots, which is accounted thirteen miles per hour. We had on board, as a passenger, Captain Archibald Kennedy, of the Royal Navy, who contended that it was impossible, and that no ship ever sailed so fast, and that there must have been some error in the division of the log-line, or some mistake in heaving the log. A wager ensued between the two captains, to be decided when there should be sufficient wind. Kennedy therefore examined the log-line, and being satisfied with it, he determined to throw the log himself. Some days after, when the wind was very fair and fresh, and the captain of the packet, Lutwidge, said he believed she then went at the rate of thirteen knots, Kennedy made the experiment, and owned his wager lost.

The foregoing fact I give for the sake of the following observation. It has been remarked, as an imperfection in the art of ship-building, that it can never be known till she is tried, whether a new ship will, or will not, be a good sailer; for that the model of a good-sailing ship has been exactly followed in a new

one, which has been proved on the contrary remarkably dull. I apprehend, that this may partly be occasioned by the different opinions of seamen respecting the modes of loading, rigging, and sailing of a ship; each has his method; and the same vessel, laden by the method and orders of one captain, shall sail worse than when by the orders of another. Besides, it scarce ever happens, that a ship is formed, fitted for the sea, and sailed by the same person. One man builds the hull, another rigs her, a third loads and sails her. No one of these has the advantage of knowing all the ideas and experience of the others, and therefore cannot draw just conclusions from a combination of the whole.

Even in the simple operation of sailing when at sea, I have often observed different judgments in the officers, who commanded the successive watches, the wind being the same. One would have the sails trimmed sharper or flatter than another, so that they seemed to have no certain rule to govern by. Yet I think a set of experiments might be instituted, first to determine the most proper form of the hull for swift sailing; next the best dimensions and most proper place for the masts; then the form and quantity of sails, and their position, as the winds may be; and lastly, the disposition of the lading. This is an age of experiments, and I think a set accurately made and combined would be of great use.

We were several times chased in our passage, but outsailed every thing; and in thirty days had soundings. We had a good observation, and the captain judged himself so near our port, Falmouth, that, if we made a good run in the night, we might be off the mouth of that harbour in the morning; and by running in the night might escape the notice of the enemy's

privateers, who often cruised near the entrance of the Channel. Accordingly all the sail was set that we could possibly carry, and the wind being very fresh and fair, we stood right before it, and made great way. The captain, after his observation, shaped his course, as he thought, so as to pass wide of the Scilly Rocks; but it seems there is sometimes a strong current setting up St. George's Channel, which formerly caused the loss of Sir Cloudesley Shovel's squadron, in 1707. This was probably also the cause of what happened to us.

We had a watchman placed in the bow, to whom they often called, "*Look well out before there;*" and he as often answered, "*Ay, ay;*" but perhaps had his eyes shut, and was half asleep, at the time; they sometimes answering, as is said, mechanically; for he did not see a light just before us, which had been hid by the studding-sails from the man at the helm, and from the rest of the watch, but by an accidental yaw of the ship was discovered, and occasioned a great alarm, we being very near it; the light appearing to me as large as a cart-wheel. It was midnight, and our captain fast asleep; but Captain Kennedy, jumping upon deck, and seeing the danger, ordered the ship to wear round, all sails standing; an operation dangerous to the masts, but it carried us clear, and we avoided shipwreck, for we were running fast on the rocks on which the light was erected. This deliverance impressed me strongly with the utility of lighthouses, and made me resolve to encourage the building some of them in America, if I should live to return thither.

In the morning it was found by the soundings, that we were near our port, but a thick fog hid the land from our sight. About nine o'clock the fog began to rise, and seemed to be lifted up from the water like

the curtain of a theatre, discovering underneath the town of Falmouth, the vessels in the harbour, and the fields that surround it. This was a pleasing spectacle to those, who had been long without any other prospect than the uniform view of a vacant ocean, and it gave us the more pleasure, as we were now free from the anxieties which had arisen.*

I set out immediately, with my son, for London, and we only stopped a little by the way to view Stonehenge on Salisbury Plain, and Lord Pembroke's house and gardens, with the very curious antiquities at Wilton. We arrived in London, the 27th of July, 1757.†

* In a letter from Dr. Franklin to his wife, dated at Falmouth, the 17th of July, 1757, after giving her a similar account of his voyage, escape, and landing, he adds; "The bell ringing for church, we went thither immediately, and, with hearts full of gratitude, returned sincere thanks to God for the mercies we had received. Were I a Roman Catholic, perhaps I should on this occasion vow to build a chapel to some saint; but as I am not, if I were to vow at all, it should be to build a *light-house*." — W. T. F.

† Here close Dr. Franklin's Memoirs, as written by himself. From several passages in his letters it would seem, that it was his intention to continue them further, and perhaps to the end of his life; but public business for some time, and afterwards his declining health, prevented him from executing his purpose. — EDITOR.

LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

PART SECOND;

CONTINUATION,

By JARED SPARKS.

LIFE

OF

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

CONTINUATION.

CHAPTER I.

State of Affairs in Pennsylvania. — Defects of the Government. — Legislation. — Conduct of the Proprietaries. — Object of Franklin's Agency in England. — Collinson, Miss Stevenson, Strahan, Governor Shirley, Beccaria, Musschenbroek. — Franklin's Interview with the Proprietaries. — He causes a Letter to be published respecting Pennsylvania. — Delays in his public Business. — He travels in various Parts of England. — Visits the Place in which his Ancestors were born. — Forms an Acquaintance with Baskerville. — Publishes the "Historical Review of Pennsylvania." — Authorship of that Work.

THE dissensions, which had long existed and continually increased, between the governors and assemblies of Pennsylvania, had their origin in the peculiar structure of the government, and the manner of its administration. The system, possessing in itself many excellent principles, became vicious, and almost impracticable, in its operation. William Penn, the founder and first Proprietor, while he was careful of his own interest, made to the original settlers some valuable concessions. The royal charter obtained by him was such, as to secure political rights on the broad basis of English freedom; and the charter of privileges, which he granted to the people, established unlimited toleration in religion, and gave them so large a share

in the making of the laws, as to place civil liberty, and the protection of property, almost entirely in their own keeping. These were substantial benefits; and the liberal and benevolent motives of Penn in conferring them, and his enlightened views on the subject of legislation, cannot be questioned. It was a maxim with him, that freedom can exist only where the laws rule, and the people are parties in making those laws.

Theoretically considered, his frame of government promised all that could be desired by a free people in a state of colonial dependence. But it was marred with defects, which admitted of no remedy, and which in practice often defeated the best aims for the general welfare. In the first place, there was a charter from the King, imposing restraints and conditions by which he and the inhabitants were equally bound. In the next place, as Proprietor, he retained for himself and his descendants certain rights of property and a political control, which conflicted with the public interests and abridged the freedom of legislation. During his lifetime these evils were so manifest, and perplexed him so much, that he was on the point of surrendering the jurisdiction of the province to the crown, reserving to himself and family the right of property only in the territory, which had been confirmed to him by the royal charter. And afterwards, when his sons became Proprietaries as successors to their father, the difficulties were constantly increased by their mode of administering the government. They sent out deputy-governors, armed with instructions so imperative and pointed, as to leave them neither discretion nor power to conform to circumstances by yielding to the will or wishes of the representatives of the people. Hence these governors refused their assent to laws,

which the Assemblies regarded as of vital importance both to the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth.

Again, the King added his instructions, forbidding laws of a particular description to be passed by the governors, without a clause suspending their operation till they had received the royal sanction. This was a violation of the charter. By that instrument, all laws were permitted to take effect as soon as they were passed, although they were to be sent to England within five years, and, if disapproved by the King, they were then to be null and void. And even this process was slow, vexatious, and expensive. When a law had gone through all the forms in Pennsylvania, it was transmitted to an agent in London, by whom it was laid before the Board of Trade. It was next referred to the King's solicitor for his opinion, after which it came back to the Board of Trade, where it was considered and acted upon. Thence it made its way to the King's Council, and here it was at last confirmed or rejected. If the Proprietaries took exceptions to an act, they employed counsel to argue against it before the Board, and it was necessary for the agent of the Assembly to do the same on the other side. Meantime the business was attended with endless delays and heavy expenses. Harassed in this way from year to year, it is no wonder that the patience of the Assembly was gradually worn out, and that they resolved to seek redress.

The conduct of the Proprietaries was censured chiefly on the ground of attempts to strengthen their pecuniary interests, though, in some instances, they also sought to extend their political powers. They owned large tracts of land in various parts of the province, which had been selected and surveyed for them where-

ever a new purchase was made of the Indians. This land was of the choicest quality, and it rose rapidly in value as the country around it became settled. The Proprietaries set up a pretension, that their lands ought not to be taxed for the public service, and they instructed their governors not to pass any bill in which such a tax was imposed. For many years this was not necessary, as the revenue for defraying the expenses of government was derived from an excise, and from the interest on bills of credit lent out to landholders.

In times of war, however, extraordinary contributions were required for the defence of the province, and for the King's use in prosecuting the war. A land tax was then resorted to; and the Assembly, considering it just that the Proprietaries should bear their proportion in providing the means for defending their own property, included their lands in the laws for raising money. The governors, bound by their instructions, uniformly rejected these laws, and insisted, that the proprietary estates should in no case be taxed. Frequent altercations ensued. Franklin was the champion of the Assembly, being well qualified for this task, not more by his talents and skill as a writer, than by his perfect knowledge of the subjects in dispute. The able and elaborate replies, which from time to time were made to the objections and arguments of the governors, were nearly all from his pen.

When it was determined, therefore, to send an agent to England with a remonstrance to the Proprietaries, and, should this prove ineffectual, with a petition to the King, Franklin was selected as the most competent person for this important mission. His instructions embraced several objects, tending to a removal of the obstacles to the peace and prosperity of the province; but the principal one was the complaint against the

Proprietaries for refusing to bear their just share of the public burdens for defence, in common with the inhabitants, and in proportion to the value of their estates in Pennsylvania. He was, in general, to make such representations, and demand such redress, as would restore the violated rights of the people, and establish them on the fundamental principles of charter privileges and English liberty.

Franklin's fame as a philosopher, and as a political writer, had preceded him in England. His brilliant discoveries in electricity had been made known to the world ten years before. He was already a member of the Royal Society, that body having rendered ample justice to his merits as an original discoverer, though tardily, and not till these merits had elicited the applause of the learned in France and other countries. When he arrived in England, therefore, he did not find himself a stranger or without friends.

His letters on electricity had been written to Peter Collinson, a member of the Royal Society, and a benevolent and worthy man, who had raised himself to usefulness and some degree of celebrity by his zeal and exertions in promoting the researches of others in various branches of science, and collecting the results of their labors. Mr. Collinson kindly invited him to his house, where he stayed till he took lodgings at Mrs. Stevenson's, in Craven Street, a few doors from the Strand. Mrs. Stevenson's house had been recommended to him by some of his Pennsylvania friends, who had lodged there; and, so well was he pleased with the accommodations, and the amiable character of the family, that he remained in the same place during the whole of his residence in England, a period of fifteen years. This circumstance is the more worthy of being mentioned, as he often alludes to the family

in his letters. Mrs. Stevenson had an only daughter, Miss Mary Stevenson, an accomplished young lady, whose fondness for study and acuteness of mind early attracted his notice; and some of his best papers on philosophical subjects were written for her instruction, or in answer to her inquiries.

Mr. Strahan, afterwards the King's printer and a member of Parliament, who acquired wealth by his occupation and eminence by his talents, had long been one of Franklin's correspondents, and he now extended to him the welcome and the substantial kindnesses of a cordial friendship. In London he also met Governor Shirley, with whom he had been much acquainted in America, and who had consulted him confidentially on several important subjects relating to the administration of the colonies.* They visited each other frequently. But his chief associates were men of science, who sought his society, and whose conversation he relished; for, although he had recently been much devoted to politics, yet his taste for philosophical investigations, originally strong and confirmed by success, had not abated; and he seemed at all times to derive from it more real satisfaction than from the bustle of political life, into which he had first been drawn rather by circumstances and accident than by inclination. His arrival in England was likewise soon known on the continent, and he received congratulatory letters from some of the most distinguished men of the time, expressing admiration of his scientific achievements and respect for his character.†

* See the Letters to Governor Shirley, Vol. III. p. 56.

† Beccaria, the celebrated Italian electrician, who had corresponded with him before he left America, sent to him a long communication, containing an account of some new experiments in electricity illustrative of the Franklinian hypothesis. It begins as follows. "Sospitem

The business of his mission, however, was his first and principal care. But this was retarded by a severe illness, which confined him to his rooms for nearly eight weeks. A violent cold terminated in an intermitting fever, during which he suffered extremely from pain in the head, accompanied with occasional delirium. By cupping, a copious use of Peruvian bark, and other remedies, Dr. Fothergill succeeded in removing the disease, but not till it had reduced his patient to a very low and feeble state. As soon as his strength enabled him to go abroad, he applied himself again to his public duties.

His instructions required, that, as a preliminary step, he should see the Proprietaries, present to them the remonstrance with which he had been furnished by the Assembly, and endeavour to bring about an amicable arrangement, which might render further proceedings unnecessary. He accordingly had an interview with them, and explained the tenor of his instructions, the embarrassments under which public affairs labored in Pennsylvania, and the claims and wishes of the Assembly.

The Proprietaries were not in a humor to listen to these representations, or to yield any thing to the complaints of the people. They insisted on their right to instruct the governors according to their own interpretation of the charters, defended what had been

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ex Americâ Londinum te appulisse gaudeo, vir præclarissime." And at the conclusion he says; "Tu vero cura, ut valeas; servari enim te decet quam diutissime utilissime scientiæ perficiendæ amplificandæque, quam certissimam instituisti." Musschenbroek, at the request of a mutual friend, drew up for him a list of the principal writers on electricity, and forwarded it with a letter in which he said; "Votis tuis lubenter annui; ita addisces quid alii in Europâ præstiterunt eruditi, sed simul videbis neminem magis recondita mysteria Electricitatis detexisse Franklino."—See Vol. V. p. 505; Vol. VII. p. 186.

done, and complained of the encroachments of the Assembly upon their prerogatives. They agreed, however, to consider the matter, and to give an answer to the remonstrance. From the temper in which they discussed the subject, Franklin foresaw that it would be impossible to bring them to any change of sentiments or of conduct on the points at issue, and that he should be obliged in the end to appeal to the higher tribunals. The Proprietaries at this time were Thomas and Richard Penn, sons of William Penn, the founder of the colony.

He soon discovered, that many obstacles were to be encountered even in preparing the way for his ulterior proceedings. In the first place, he had to meet and baffle the opposition of the Proprietaries, who were resolved to resist his efforts step by step with all the means and influence they could command. Again, the great officers of the crown, by whom the cause must be decided, were naturally inclined to favor the royal prerogative, and looked with a jealous eye upon every movement of the people, which aimed at liberty or privilege. And, lastly, a prejudice existed against the Pennsylvanians, on account of their apparent backwardness in supporting the war, and the reluctance of the Quakers to bear arms, or even to aid any scheme for military defence. This prejudice had been raised and kept alive by the Proprietaries and their agents, who represented the opposition to the governors as originating in the obstinacy and factious spirit of the people, equally hostile to the proprietary rights and the King's prerogative.

The newspapers and other journals teemed with falsehoods of this kind, censuring alike the conduct and the motives of the Pennsylvanians. Franklin felt bound, not more by a regard for truth, than by a

sense of justice to his countrymen, and in return for the confidence they had placed in him, to counteract these artifices, and disabuse the public mind of the mischievous errors into which it had been deceived. Indeed, there was little hope of success to his further endeavours, till this should be done. An opportunity soon presented itself. A piece of intelligence was published, said to be the substance of letters from Philadelphia, in which the members of the Assembly were accused of wasting their time in idle disputes with the governor, whilst the frontiers were ravaged by the Indians, and of refusing to raise money for the public service, except by laws clogged with such conditions that the governor could not assent to them. The obstinacy of the Quakers in the Assembly was assigned as the principal cause of the dissensions.

These charges were refuted in a letter, which was published in the name of Franklin's son, and addressed to the printer of the paper in which the pretended intelligence had first appeared. And here he had a proof, that neither justice, nor a fair hearing, was to be obtained on easy terms. He was obliged to pay the printer for allowing the article a place in his paper, although this same paper was the vehicle in which the false reports had originally been circulated.

In this letter the actual condition of the province was briefly stated and explained. It was shown, that the frontiers were no more exposed than those of other colonies; that the inhabitants had arms in their hands and used them; that the Quakers made but a small part of the whole population, and, though they had conscientious scruples as to bearing arms, yet they had never, as a body, opposed the measures for military defence; on the contrary, some of them had withdrawn from the Assembly because their re-

ligious principles would not suffer them to join in such measures, and others had refused to be elected for the same reason; that, so far from neglecting to provide the means of defence, the Assembly had already granted more than one hundred thousand pounds for the King's use since the beginning of the war, besides the heavy contingent expenses of government; that numerous forts had been built, supplied, and garrisoned, soldiers raised, armed, and accoutred, a ship of war fitted out and sent to cruise on the coast, an expedition against the Indians undertaken and successfully executed; and that, in short, the arbitrary and unjust instructions from the Proprietaries to the governors were the real and only sources of the troubles in Pennsylvania, the only obstacles to the harmony and energetic action of the government, to the prosperity and happiness of the people.

This paper was skilfully drawn up, and with such fairness and so clear a statement of facts, that it could not fail to awaken the attention of thinking men, and to diminish the effect of the illiberal aspersions, which had called it forth. No attempt was made to refute it. The Proprietaries, however, remained firm, proceeding slowly or not at all in their reply to the remonstrance, and showing no disposition to enter into a compromise by a private arrangement. Even after a year had elapsed, they had done nothing; and they gave as a reason, that they could not obtain the papers they wanted from their legal advisers. Meantime he thought it necessary to go forward with his business. The forms required, that the case should first be brought before the Board of Trade, who were to report their opinion to the Privy Council, where a final decision was to be obtained. If justice could not

be reached through this channel, it was intended, as a last resort, to seek redress from Parliament.

The delays necessarily attending all affairs of this kind, left no room to hope for a speedy termination. The public mind was so much occupied with European politics and the war on the continent, and the attention of the ministers and other officers of the government was so deeply engaged with these great concerns, that there was as little leisure as inclination to meddle with the colonial disputes, and least of all to go through a laborious investigation of facts, and a discussion of the complex difficulties in which the subject was involved.

In a letter to his wife, dated January 21st, 1758, Franklin says; "I begin to think I shall hardly be able to return before this time twelve months. I am for doing effectually what I came about; and I find it requires both time and patience. You may think, perhaps, that I can find many amusements here to pass the time agreeably. It is true, the regard and friendship I meet with from persons of worth, and the conversation of ingenious men, give me no small pleasure; but, at this time of life, domestic comforts afford the most solid satisfaction, and my uneasiness at being absent from my family, and longing desire to be with them, make me often sigh in the midst of cheerful company." He could do no more than to put the business in train, by furnishing the lawyers, employed on the part of his constituents, with the materials and facts for enabling them to appear in behalf of the province, whenever the Board of Trade should take the case into consideration.

For more than a year afterwards scarcely any progress seems to have been made. He spent the summer in journeying through various parts of England.

He visited the University of Cambridge twice, and was present by invitation at the Commencement. He expresses himself as having been particularly gratified with the civilities and regard shown to him by the Chancellor and the heads of Colleges. Curiosity led him also to the town where his father was born, and where his ancestors had lived; and he sought out with a lively interest such traditions concerning them, as could be gathered from the memory of ancient persons, from parish registers, and inscriptions on their tombstones. At Wellingborough he found a Mrs. Fisher, the only daughter of Thomas Franklin, his father's eldest brother, advanced in years, but in good circumstances.

"From Wellingborough," he says, "we went to Ecton, about three or four miles, being the village where my father was born, and where his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had lived, and how many of the family before them we know not. We went first to see the old house and grounds; they came to Mr. Fisher with his wife, and, after letting them for some years, finding his rent something ill paid, he sold them. The land is now added to another farm, and a school kept in the house. It is a decayed old stone building, but still known by the name of Franklin House. Thence we went to visit the rector of the parish, who lives close by the church, a very ancient building. He entertained us very kindly, and showed us the old church register, in which were the births, marriages, and burials of our ancestors for two hundred years, as early as his book began. His wife, a goodnatured, chatty old lady, (granddaughter of the famous Archdeacon Palmer, who formerly had that parish and lived there,) remembered a great deal about the family; carried us out into the churchyard, and showed us several of their gravestones, which were so covered with

moss, that we could not read the letters, till she ordered a hard brush and basin of water, with which Peter scoured them clean, and then Billy copied them. She entertained and diverted us highly with stories of Thomas Franklin, Mrs. Fisher's father, who was a conveyancer, something of a lawyer, clerk of the county courts, and clerk to the Archdeacon in his visitations; a very leading man in all county affairs, and much employed in public business."

He was alike successful at Birmingham. "Here, upon inquiry," he adds, in writing to his wife, "we soon found out yours, and cousin Wilkinson's, and cousin Cash's relations. First, we found out one of the Cashes, and he went with us to Rebecca Flint's, where we saw her and her husband. She is a turner and he a buttonmaker; they have no children; were very glad to see any person that knew their sister Wilkinson; told us what letters they had received, and showed us some of them; and even showed us that they had, out of respect, preserved a keg, in which they had received a present of some sturgeon. They sent for their brother, Joshua North, who came with his wife immediately to see us; he is a turner also, and has six children, a lively, active man. Mrs. Flint desired me to tell her sister, that they live still in the old house she left them in, which I think she says was their father's." On his return to London he pursued his inquiries still further, and "found out a daughter of his father's only sister, very old and never married; a good, clever woman, but poor, though vastly contented with her situation, and very cheerful."

He mentions other relations, of whom he heard in his journey, but, being out of the range of his tour, he intended visiting them at another time. His manner of speaking on this subject, in both his autobiography and

his letters, shows that he took much delight in seeking out and rendering kindness to the members of his family, even where the relationship was remote, although they were all in humble life, and many of them poor; and there are evidences of his substantial and continued bounty to such as were in a needy condition.

At Birmingham he became acquainted with the celebrated type-founder and printer, Baskerville, one of those men, the results of whose labors prove how much can be achieved in the arts by resolution, perseverance, and an energetic devotion to a favorite object. Franklin always loved the profession by which he had first gained a livelihood and afterwards a liberal competency; and, even when he had risen to eminence, and whilst he associated with statesmen and courtiers, he was fond of talking with printers, entering into their schemes, and suggesting or aiding improvements in their art. So far was he from being reserved on the subject of his early condition and pursuits, that he often alluded to them as giving value to his experience, and as furnishing incidents illustrative of his maxims of life. One day at his dinner-table in Passy, surrounded by men of rank and fashion, a young gentleman was present who had just arrived from Philadelphia. He showed a marked kindness to the young stranger, conversed with him about the friends he had left at home, and then said, "I have been under obligation to your family; when I set up business in Philadelphia, being in debt for my printing materials and wanting employment, the first job I had was a pamphlet written by your grandfather; it gave me encouragement and was the beginning of my success." A similarity of taste was the foundation of an intimate and lasting friendship between him and Baskerville.

After passing a few days at Tunbridge Wells, his

health being much improved by travel and recreation, he went back to London and established himself again at his lodgings. Nor was he neglectful of his public duties. It was not possible to advance in the business of his mission, till the government should be ready to give it a hearing; but the press, which had been freely employed to calumniate the Pennsylvanians, was open to his use. His friends, who understood the state of opinion in England, advised him to resort to it, as affording the best means of counteracting the errors that were abroad, and defeating the arts by which they were disseminated.

Speaking of Mr. Charles, an eminent lawyer employed as counsel on the part of the Assembly, he says in an official letter, "One thing, that he recommends to be done before we push our point in Parliament, is, removing the prejudices, that art and accident have spread among the people of this country against us, and obtaining for us the good opinion of the bulk of mankind without doors. This I hope we have it in our power to do, by means of a work now nearly ready for the press, calculated to engage the attention of many readers, and at the same time to efface the bad impression received of us; but it is thought best not to publish it, till a little before the next session of Parliament."

The work, here alluded to, was the *Historical Review of Pennsylvania*, rendered famous not more on account of the ability with which it is written and the matter it contains, than of the abuse it brought upon Franklin as its supposed author. It was published anonymously near the beginning of the year 1759. It is the professed object of the writer to support the cause of the Assembly and people of Pennsylvania against the encroachments and arbitrary de-

signs of the Proprietaries. With this aim, he sketches the political history of the province from its first settlement; and, in executing his task, he is led occasionally to touch with considerable severity upon the transactions both of William Penn and of his descendants. As a composition, the treatise possesses merits of a high order. The style is vigorous and clear, always well sustained, and rising sometimes to eloquence. The Dedication and Introduction, especially, are finished specimens of their kind. The tone and sentiments of the work may be inferred from the motto; "Those, who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."

As a history, however, it wants the essential requisites of completeness and impartiality. Yet there is no disguise about it. From the first page to the last the reader is made to see and understand the writer's drift and purpose, which are, to describe in strong language the oppressions under which the people have struggled, and to vindicate them from the censures of their enemies. This is done, in the first place, by copious abstracts and selections from public records and documents, and, next, by such deductions and arguments as seem naturally to flow from them. As to the facts, there can be no doubt of their accuracy, since they are all drawn from authentic sources. The reader is left to judge how well they bear out the inferences and arguments. In short, the writer's statements, as far as they go, cannot be charged with misrepresentation or with essential errors in point of fact. Their chief fault is, that they exhibit only one side of the subject. The evils of the proprietary system, emanating from its inherent defects and a vicious administration, are represented in glowing colors, while the advantages derived from it, such as they were, have no place in his picture.

The partisans of the Proprietaries, in England and Pennsylvania, eagerly ascribed this performance to the pen of Franklin, the leader of the popular party, whose influence and talents they most dreaded. The style, and other circumstances, gave countenance to such a suspicion. As he never publicly affirmed the contrary, it has generally been supposed that the suspicion was well founded.

Very recently, however, an original letter has been obtained, which was written by him to David Hume soon after the work was published, and in which he explicitly disavows the authorship. "I am obliged to you," he says in that letter, "for the favorable sentiments you express of the pieces sent to you; though the volume relating to our Pennsylvania affairs was not written by me, nor any part of it, except the remarks on the Proprietor's estimate of his estate, and some of the inserted messages and reports of the Assembly, which I wrote when at home, as a member of committees appointed by the House for that purpose. The rest was by another hand."* This declaration, made for no other end than to correct an erroneous impression on the mind of Mr. Hume, puts to rest the question of authorship. It is certain, however, that the book was written under his direction, and he may fairly be considered responsible for its contents. Nor does it appear, that he was disposed to shrink from this responsibility, since, if he had been, nothing more was necessary than to avow publicly what he wrote to Mr. Hume. In fact, he was really the author of a large portion of the work, which consists of the messages and reports mentioned above. The reason for withholding the author's name at the time was,

* See Vol. VII. p. 208.

that, if this were known, it would weaken the effect intended to be produced, by fixing the public attention upon an individual, rather than upon the book itself. Those, who have doubted Franklin's authorship, have attributed it to Ralph, one of his early associates, an able political writer, and an historian of some celebrity. Ralph was then in London, and this conjecture, to say the least, is not improbable.

CHAPTER II.

Franklin advises the Conquest of Canada. — His Scheme adopted by the Ministry. — Journey to Scotland. — Lord Kames, Robertson, Hume. — "Parable against Persecution." — First published by Lord Kames. — How far Franklin claimed to be its Author. — His Mission brought to a favorable Termination. — Lord Mansfield's Agency in the Affair. — Franklin's Sentiments in Regard to Canada. — Writes a Pamphlet to show that it ought to be retained at the Peace. — Tour to the North of England. — Receives Public Money for Pennsylvania. — Tour in Holland. — Experiments to prove the Electrical Properties of the Tourmalin. — Cold produced by Evaporation. — Ingenious Theory for explaining the Causes of Northeast Storms. — Invents a Musical Instrument, called the Armonica. — His Son appointed Governor of New Jersey. — Returns to America.

ALTHOUGH Franklin devoted himself mainly to the affairs of his agency, yet a mind like his could not be inattentive to the great events that were taking place around him, and he entered warmly into the general politics of the nation. Just before his arrival in England, Mr. Pitt had become prime minister. In the hope of drawing the attention of this sagacious statesman to the concerns of Pennsylvania, he made several attempts to gain an introduction to him, but without success. Alluding to this circumstance at a subsequent date, he said of Mr. Pitt; "He was then too great a man, or too much occupied in affairs of greater moment. I was therefore obliged to content myself with a kind of non-apparent and unacknowledged communication through Mr. Potter and Mr. Wood, his secretaries, who seemed to cultivate an acquaintance with me by their civilities, and drew from me what information I could give relative to the American war, with my sentiments occasionally on measures that were proposed or advised by others, which gave me the opportunity of recommending and

enforcing the utility of conquering Canada. I afterwards considered Mr. Pitt as an *inaccessible*. I admired him at a distance, and made no more attempts for a nearer acquaintance." It will be seen hereafter, when Mr. Pitt was no longer minister, that his reserve had softened, and that he not only sought the acquaintance of Franklin, but consulted him confidentially on important national affairs.

It is known, moreover, that his advice at this time was both received and followed. It has been said on good authority, that the expedition against Canada, and its consequences in the victory of Wolfe at Quebec and the conquest of that country, may be chiefly ascribed to Franklin. He disapproved the policy, by which the ministry had hitherto been guided, of carrying on the war against the French in the heart of Germany, where, if successful, it would end in no real gain to the British nation, and no essential loss to the enemy. In all companies, and on all occasions, he urged the reduction of Canada as an object of the utmost importance. It would inflict a blow upon the French power in America, from which it could never recover, and which would have a lasting influence in advancing the prosperity of the British Colonies. These sentiments he conveyed to the minister's friends, with such remarks on the practicability of the enterprise, and the manner of conducting it, as his intimate knowledge of the state of things in America enabled him to communicate. They made the impression he desired, and the result verified his prediction.

During the year 1759, little progress, if any, was made in the Pennsylvania affair. The *Historical Review* was silently operating on public opinion, and preparing the minds of men in office to act with a better understanding of the subject, than they had heretofore

possessed. The Proprietaries sent out a new governor to take the place of Mr. Denny, with whom they became dissatisfied as having been too compliant to the Assembly. His successor was Mr. Hamilton, who had formerly held the office. In their instructions to him, they still refused to have their estates taxed, though they consented, that, in case the exigency of the times demanded it, a tax might be laid on their rents and quitrents only, provided their "tenants should be obliged to pay the same," the amount being deducted when payments were made by the tenants to their receiver in Pennsylvania. Mr. Hamilton endeavoured to procure better terms, and told them plainly before he left England, that, in his opinion, "the proprietary estates ought to be taxed in common with all the other estates in the province." His efforts to carry this point, however, were unavailing.

In the summer of this year Franklin made a journey to Scotland, accompanied by his son. His reputation as a philosopher was well established there, and he was received and entertained in a manner that evinced the highest respect for his character. The University of St. Andrews had some time before honored him with the degree of Doctor of Laws. He formed an acquaintance with nearly all the distinguished men, who then adorned Scotland by their talents and learning, particularly Lord Kames, Dr. Robertson, and Mr. Hume, with whom he kept up long afterwards a friendly correspondence. The pleasure he derived from his visit is forcibly expressed in a letter to Lord Kames. "On the whole, I must say, I think the time we spent there was six weeks of the *densest* happiness I have met with in any part of my life; and the agreeable and instructive society we found there in such plenty has left so pleasing an impression on my memory,

that, did not strong connexions draw me elsewhere, I believe Scotland would be the country I should choose to spend the remainder of my days in." Similar sentiments are repeated at a later date, and he often resolved to renew his visit; but this he was not able to do, till several years afterwards, being prevented by his numerous occupations, and by the increasing pressure of public business.*

He passed several days with Lord Kames at his mansion in the country. While there, he read or recited from memory the celebrated *Parable against Persecution*, which, on account of the notoriety it has gained, deserves a notice in this place, especially as some writers have inconsiderately, and without a knowledge of the facts, charged him with plagiarism for allowing it to be published as his own. The particulars are these. Some time after this visit, Lord Kames wrote to him for a copy of this Parable, which he accordingly forwarded. No more was heard of it for fourteen years,

* The University of St. Andrews had conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in the month of February preceding his visit to Scotland. The following is a copy of the diploma.

"*Nos Universitatis St^i. Andreæ apud Scotos Rector, Promotor, Collegiorum Præfecti, Facultatis Artium Decanus, cæterique Professorum Ordines, Lectoribus Salutem.*

"Quandoquidem æquum est et rationi congruens, ut qui magno studio bonas didicerunt artes, iidem referant præmium studiis suis dignum, ac pro inerti hominum vulgo propriis quibusdam fulgeant honoribus et privilegiis, unde et ipsis bene sit, atque aliorum provocetur industria; Quando etiam eò præsertim spectant amplissima illa jura Universitati Andreanæ antiquitus concessa, ut, quoties res postulat, idoneos quosque in quâvis facultate viros, vel summis, qui ad eam facultatem pertinent, honoribus amplificare queat; Quumque ingenuus et honestus vir, Benjaminus Franklin, Artium Magister, non solum jurisprudentiæ cognitione, morum integritate, suavique vitæ consuetudine nobis sit commendatus, verum etiam acutè inventis et exitu felici factis experimentis, quibus Rerum Naturalium, et imprimis Rei Electricæ parum hactenus exploratæ, scientiam locupletavit, tantam sibi conciliaverit per orbem terrarum laudem, ut summos in Republicâ Literariâ mereatur honores; Hisce nos adducti, et præmia virtuti debita, quantum in nobis est, tribuere

when Lord Kames published the first edition of his "Sketches of the History of Man." In that work the Parable was inserted, with the following declaration by the author. "It was communicated to me by Dr. Franklin of Philadelphia, a man who makes a great figure in the learned world, and who would still make a greater figure for benevolence and candor, were virtue as much regarded in this declining age as knowledge."

Lord Kames does not say, that Dr. Franklin wrote the Parable, yet such an inference is fairly deducible from his language, and in this light it was understood by the public. At length some one lit upon a similar story in Jeremy Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying," where Taylor says, that it was taken from the "Jews' books." So vague a reference afforded no clue to its origin, but a Latin version of it was found in the dedication of a work by George Gentius, who ascribes it to Saadi the Persian poet; and Saadi relates it as coming from another person, so that its source still remains a matter for curious research.

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volentes, Magistrum Benjaminum Franklin supra nominatum, Utriusque Juris Doctorem creamus, constituimus, et renunciamus, eumque deinceps ab universis pro Doctore dignissmo haberi volumus; adjicimusque ei, plenâ manu, quæcunque, uspiam gentium, Juris Utriusque Doctoribus competunt privilegia et ornamenta. In cujus rei testimonium hasce nostras privilegii Literas, chirographis singulorum confirmatas, et communi Almæ Universitatis sigillo munitas, dedimus Andreapoli duodecimo die Mensis Februarii, Anno Domini millesimo septingentesimo quinquagesimo nono."

This diploma was signed by Andrew Shaw, Rector of the University, David Gregory, Professor of Mathematics, Robert Watson, the historian, and nine other officers of the University.

While he was at Edinburgh, the freedom of the city was presented to him. The following is an extract from the record, dated September, 5th, 1759. "Benjamin Franklin of Philadelphia is hereby admitted a burgess and guild-brother of this city, as a mark of the affectionate respect, which the Magistrates and Council have for a gentleman, whose amiable character, greatly distinguished for usefulness to the society which he belongs to, and love to all mankind, had long ago reached them across the Atlantic Ocean." On the 2d of October the same compliment was paid to him by the magistrates of St. Andrew's.

The Parable was imperfectly printed from Lord Kames's copy. The last four verses were omitted, and these are essential to its completeness and beauty as it came from the hands of Franklin. Nor are there any grounds for the charge of plagiarism, since it was published without his knowledge, and without any pretence of authorship on his part. In a letter to Mr. Vaughan, written a short time before his death, he says; "The truth is, that I never published the Parable, and never claimed more credit from it, than what related to the style, and the addition of the concluding threatening and promise. The publishing of it by Lord Kames, without my consent, deprived me of a good deal of amusement, which I used to take in reading it by heart out of any Bible, and obtaining the remarks of the scripturians upon it, which were sometimes very diverting; not but that it is in itself, on account of the importance of its moral, well worth being made known to all mankind."

A principal charm of this apologue is the felicity with which the Scripture style is imitated, both as to the thoughts and the manner of expressing them. For this charm, as well as for the closing verses, which give additional force to the moral, it is wholly indebted to Franklin; and it should moreover be observed, that the popular favor it has received, and the curiosity it has excited, are to be ascribed to the dress in which he clothed it. Till it appeared in this dress, it never attracted notice, although made public, long before, in so remarkable a work as the one into which it was incorporated by Jeremy Taylor.*

After a delay of nearly three years, Franklin finally succeeded in bringing his public business to a termi-

* See the Parable, and other particulars concerning it, Vol. II. p. 118.

nation. The case was decided in June, 1760. Governor Denny had given his assent to several acts of the Assembly, which displeased the Proprietaries, and on account of which they removed him from office. Among them was an act for raising one hundred thousand pounds by a tax, in which the proprietary estates were put on the same footing as the estates of other landholders in the province. These laws were sent over to England, as usual, to be approved by the King; but the Proprietaries opposed them, and exerted their endeavours to procure their rejection.

Able lawyers were employed on both sides to argue the points at issue before the Board of Trade, and in the end all the laws were repealed except the one for raising money. This was strenuously resisted by the counsel for the Proprietaries, on the ground that it was an invasion of the prerogative, and an encroachment upon the proprietary rights; but the equity of the case was too plain to be misunderstood or eluded. The law was confirmed, under certain conditions, requiring that the Governor should have a voice in the disposal of the money, that the waste lands of the Proprietaries should not be taxed, and that their unimproved lands should be rated as low as those of any of the inhabitants. The agent engaged, on the part of the Assembly, that these conditions should be complied with. In fact, they did not materially affect the original claim of the Assembly, as the great principle, so long contended for, of taxing the proprietary estates, was established.

Thus, after much embarrassment and vexatious delay, Franklin succeeded in accomplishing the main object of his mission, and his services met with the entire approbation of his constituents. It was obvious, however, from the spirit which had been shown in

the course of these proceedings, that the administration were not disposed to favor popular rights in the colonies; and it was deemed inexpedient at that time to press further upon their notice the grievances, of which the people of Pennsylvania complained. The Proprietaries submitted to their defeat with as good a grace as they could, after holding out so long; but, in writing to the Governor, they expressed themselves not well pleased, that the Board of Trade did not "privately confer with them in drawing up their report," which they say had formerly been the usage.

Lord Mansfield was chiefly concerned in that part of the report, which recommended the approval of the act for taxing the proprietary lands. This circumstance was mentioned in one of Franklin's letters to the Assembly, and he seemed to infer from it a good intention in his Lordship towards the Pennsylvanians. When this was told to the Proprietaries, they expressed surprise, that he should be so much deceived, and added; "My Lord had no design to favor the Assembly, but to do us justice, and at the same time to extend the King's prerogative at both ours and the people's cost by and by." This may be true, and yet, by granting to the Assembly all they asked, it settled the controversy in their favor; and so far it indicated good will to the Pennsylvanians, whatever may have been the ultimate design, if indeed there were any such.

As the war was now drawing to a close, there began to be much speculation among politicians respecting the terms of peace. Canada, Guadaloupe, and other possessions in the West Indies, East Indies, and Africa, had been taken from the French during the war. Which of these possessions did a sound policy and the interests of the nation require to be retained? The discussion of this question was entered into with

warmth by two parties. One was for holding Canada, the other Guadaloupe. The Earl of Bath wrote an able pamphlet to prove that Canada, as the most important acquisition, should by all means be retained at the peace. Another writer, supposed to be Mr. Burke, replied to the Earl of Bath, and vigorously urged the retention of Guadaloupe in preference to Canada. The arguments were drawn out at much length on both sides, and public opinion was divided.

Strongly impressed with the importance of the subject in its relation to the American colonies, Franklin now engaged in the controversy, and published anonymously a tract, entitled *The Interest of Great Britain Considered*, in which he advanced reasons for keeping Canada. His views are briefly stated in a letter to Lord Kames, written a short time before. "No one can more sincerely rejoice than I do, on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton. I have long been of opinion, that the foundations of the future grandeur and stability of the British empire lie in America; and though, like other foundations, they are low and little now, they are, nevertheless, broad and strong enough to support the greatest political structure that human wisdom ever yet erected. I am, therefore, by no means for restoring Canada. If we keep it, all the country from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi will in another century be filled with British people. Britain itself will become vastly more populous, by the immense increase of its commerce; the Atlantic sea will be covered with your trading ships; and your naval power, thence continually increasing, will extend your influence round the whole globe, and awe the world! If the French remain in Canada, they will continually harass our colonies by the Indians, and impede if not prevent their

growth; your progress to greatness will at best be slow, and give room for many accidents that may for ever prevent it. But I refrain, for I see you begin to think my notions extravagant, and look upon them as the ravings of a mad prophet." The same sentiments were more fully explained and defended in the *Canada Pamphlet*, as the abovementioned tract has usually been called.

He argued, that the possession of Canada was essential to the security of the British colonies against the Indians on the frontiers, whom the French had always continued to keep in their interest, and who were instigated by them to commit depredations and outrages upon the inhabitants; and, moreover, that, politically considered, this security was a justifiable ground for retaining a territory, which had been acquired in open war by the blood and treasure of the nation. It would, likewise, defeat for ever the ambitious designs of France for extending her power in America by seizing a large part of the continent and confining the British settlements to a narrow line along the coast, which design had long been manifest, and was indeed the principal cause of the war. Forts and military posts would afford but a feeble barrier, as experience had proved. He repudiated the idea advanced by some, that this was an affair of the colonies alone; and he showed, that the whole British empire was as much concerned in it as any of its remote parts; that the wealth, strength, and political power of Great Britain would be immensely increased by the growing prosperity of the colonies, if they were encouraged and protected by a wise policy and a due regard to the ties by which they were united to the mother country.

These points were illustrated by a mass of facts, indicating a profound knowledge of the history and con-

dition of the colonies, and of the commerce and political interests of Great Britain. It had been said, that Canada ought to be left to the French as a check to the growth of the colonies, which might in process of time become too formidable to be controlled by a distant master. To which he replied, "A modest word, this *check*, for massacring men, women, and children;" and suggested the easier method adopted by Pharaoh for preventing the increase of the Israelites.

The success of this pamphlet was as great as the author could desire. By the advocates of the measure, which he supported, it was held up as irrefutable; and by the opposite party, who attempted an answer, it was praised as spirited, able, and ingenious, and as containing every thing that could be said on that side of the question. It was believed to have produced an influence on the minds of the ministry, which was felt at the negotiation for peace. At any rate, Canada was retained. The author afterwards acknowledged his obligation to his friend, Mr. Richard Jackson, for assistance in preparing the pamphlet for the press; but it is not known to what extent or in what manner this assistance was rendered.

It is a curious fact, that Franklin was thus instrumental in annexing Canada to the British dominions, which was in reality the first step in the train of events, that led in a few years to the independence of the colonies; a result, which he afterwards contributed so much to accomplish, but which at this time was as little anticipated by him, as by any member of the British cabinet.

Whilst he resided in England, it was his custom to spend several weeks of each summer in travelling. This year he made a tour to the north, returning through Cheshire and Wales to Bristol and Bath. He

at first proposed going over to Ireland, and thence to Scotland, but he relinquished this part of his design.

When he came back to London, he found a letter from Mr. Norris, Speaker of the Assembly in Pennsylvania, informing him, that he had been appointed by that body to receive the proportion of the Parliamentary grant, which had been assigned to that province. During the latter years of the war, the annual sum of two hundred thousand pounds sterling was allowed by Parliament to the colonies, in consideration of the heavy charges to which they were subjected in providing an army, and the losses they sustained from the inroads of the enemy on the frontiers. This sum was apportioned to each colony according to the number of effective men employed in the field under the British generals. The share of Pennsylvania and the Delaware Counties for the first year was about thirty thousand pounds. This amount was paid into the hands of Franklin, by whom it was invested in the stocks, and otherwise disposed of, as directed by his constituents. The trust, though involving a high responsibility, and attended with embarrassments, was executed to the entire satisfaction of the Assembly.

The Governor endeavoured at the outset to prevent his appointment, and then he insisted that he had a right to nominate other commissioners to act with the Assembly's agent in receiving the money. The Proprietaries used their influence, also, to thwart his proceedings, alleging, that their deputy ought to have a voice in the disposal of this money after it reached Pennsylvania. This pretence was not tolerated by the Assembly. The grant was meant as a relief to the people, a just remuneration for the services they had rendered; and it was maintained, that the only proper authority for disposing of it rested with the people's

representatives. The ministry seemed to view the matter in the same light, for the money was paid to the agent of the Assembly.

Having now finished the most important parts of his public business, he had leisure for other employments. In the summer of 1761, he went over to the continent, and travelled through Holland and Flanders, visiting the large cities, and returning in time to be present at the coronation of George the Third. There is no record of the incidents of this tour, except a short letter to his wife written at Utrecht, in which he says, he "had seen almost all the principal places, and the things worthy of notice, in those two countries, and received a good deal of information, that would be useful when he returned to America."

His philosophical studies had been in a measure suspended for some time; yet he had recurred to them occasionally, and performed experiments, which were attended with novel or useful results. There was a dispute among the philosophers about the properties of tourmalin, a stone which Æpinus had discovered to possess the singular quality of being at the same time positively electrified on one side, and negatively on the opposite side, by heat alone, without the aid of friction. Others denied this fact. Franklin made a series of experiments with two specimens of tourmalin, given to him by Dr. Heberden, which confirmed Æpinus's account. He found, that the heat of boiling water was sufficient to excite these opposite electrical properties, and he supposed that others had failed in the experiment by using imperfect stones, or such as had not their faces properly cut.

Before he left America, Professor Simson, of Glasgow, had communicated to him some curious experiments made by Dr. Cullen, showing that cold could

be produced by evaporation. This fact, so well established since, was then little known. He repeated the experiment, by applying spirits of wine to the bulb of a thermometer, and thereby caused the mercury to fall five or six degrees. On his first visit to the University of Cambridge, at the suggestion of Dr. Hadley, professor of chemistry there, he performed the same process with ether, when the mercury fell to twenty-five degrees below the freezing point, and ice was formed on the bulb to the thickness of a quarter of an inch. "From this experiment," he observes, "one may see the possibility of freezing a man to death on a warm summer's day, if he were to stand in a passage through which the wind blew briskly, and to be wet frequently with ether, a spirit more inflammable than brandy or common spirits of wine."

This principle of evaporation he applied to an ingenious solution of several phenomena, hitherto unconsidered or unexplained. Among others, it furnished him with a reason why the heat of the human body is not increased above its natural temperature, or ninety-six degrees, by hot air, while inanimate substances will receive an accumulation of heat. He had himself known the thermometer to stand at one hundred degrees in the shade at Philadelphia, while the heat of his body was not above its usual temperature of ninety-six. Being at the same time in a profuse perspiration, he inferred, that the heat was carried off by evaporation, as fast as it came in contact with his body from the surrounding air. Hence, laborers in the harvest field, under a burning sun, will endure excessive heat, whilst they perspire freely, and drink a sufficient quantity of water, or other liquid, to supply the moisture that is exhausted by evaporation.

His mind was ever busy in searching for the causes

not only of remarkable phenomena, but of the common operations of nature. A visit to the salt-mines in England led him to reflect on the formation of those mines and on the saltness of the sea. "It has been the opinion of some great naturalists," he observes, "that the sea is salt only from the dissolution of mineral or rock salt, which its waters happened to meet with. But this opinion takes it for granted, that all water was originally fresh, of which we can have no proof. I own I am inclined to a different opinion, and rather think all the water on this globe was originally salt, and that the fresh water we find in springs and rivers, is the produce of distillation. The sun raises the vapors from the sea, which form clouds, and fall in rain upon the land, and springs and rivers are formed of that rain. As to the rock salt found in mines, I conceive, that, instead of communicating its saltness to the sea, it is itself drawn from the sea, and that of course the sea is now fresher than it was originally. This is only another effect of nature's distillery, and might be performed various ways." One of these ways he thus describes. "As we know from their effects, that there are deep fiery caverns under the earth, and even under the sea, if at any time the sea leaks into any of them, the fluid parts of the water must evaporate from that heat, and pass off through some volcano, while the salt remains, and by degrees, and continual accretion, becomes a great mass. Thus the cavern may at length be filled, and the volcano connected with it cease burning, as many, it is said, have done; and future miners, penetrating such cavern, find what we call a salt-mine." This may be no more than a theory, but perhaps it is as good a theory as any other that has been advanced on the subject.

To Mr. Alexander Small, a gentleman in London

fond of scientific inquiries, he communicated his reason for thinking that the northeast storms, so common along the Atlantic coast of North America, extending from Newfoundland to Florida, begin at the southeast. In October, 1743, there was to be an eclipse of the moon at nine o'clock in the evening, which he prepared to observe at Philadelphia. But when the time came, the heavens were overcast, and a northeast storm had set in. He was surprised to learn, therefore, by the Boston newspapers, that the eclipse was visible in a clear sky at that place, as he supposed a storm, attended by a strong wind from that quarter, would naturally begin there first. He ascertained, however, that it actually began in Boston nearly four hours later than in Philadelphia, and that along the southern coast it began earlier in proportion as any given place was less distant from the Gulf of Mexico. This put him upon observing these storms whenever they occurred; and he found in each instance, that they began at the southeast, and moved northwestward, against the current of the wind, at the rate of about one hundred miles an hour.

The fact being established, he next set himself to assign a reason. Experience shows, that cool air will flow in and occupy the place of warmer and more rarefied air. A fire in a chimney is made to burn, and the smoke and warm air to ascend, by a current of air flowing into it from the room. The motion begins at the chimney, where a portion of air is first displaced, and thus a current is produced from all parts of the room towards the chimney. For several days previously to one of these storms, he supposes the air to become heated and rarefied by the rays of the sun about the regions of the Gulf of Mexico and Florida. The cooler and moister air from the northeast flows

in and causes the rarefied air to ascend; clouds and rain are formed by the action of heat upon this cooler and moister air; and thus the storm begins, with a current of wind setting from the northeast. The denser air presses upon the lighter, till the current extends itself, in a retrograde direction, along the whole coast.*

From early life he had a passion for music, and he both studied it as a science, and practised it as an art. His remarks on the harmony and melody of the old Scotch songs have been much commended. Mr. Tytler says, "This notion of Dr. Franklin's, respecting what may be called the ideal harmony of the Scottish melodies, is extremely acute, and is marked by that ingenious simplicity of thought, which is the characteristic of a truly philosophical mind." † In a letter to his brother he explains the defects of modern music, with the same simplicity and acuteness, illustrating his idea by a criticism on one of Handel's admired compositions. ‡

In London he saw for the first time an instrument, consisting of musical glasses, upon which tunes were played by passing a wet finger round their brims. He was charmed with the sweetness of its tones; but the instrument itself seemed to him an imperfect contrivance, occupying much space and limited in the number of its tones. The glasses were arranged on a table, and tuned by putting water into them till they gave the notes required.

After many trials he succeeded in constructing an instrument of a different form, more commodious, and

* The facts and hypothesis, respecting northeast storms, are likewise contained in a letter written to the Reverend Jared Eliot, ten years before they were communicated to Mr. Small, which is now for the first time published in this work. See Vol. VI. p. 105.

† Life of Lord Kames, 2d ed. Vol. II. p. 31.

‡ See Vol. VI. p. 269.

more extended in the compass of its notes. His glasses were made in the shape of a hemisphere, with an open neck or socket in the middle, for the purpose of being fixed on an iron spindle. They were then arranged one after another, on this spindle, the largest at one end and gradually diminishing in size to the smallest at the other end. The tones depended on the size of the glasses. The spindle, with its series of glasses, was fixed horizontally in a case, and turned by a wheel attached to its larger end, upon the principle of a common spinning-wheel. The performer sat in front of the instrument, and the tones were brought out by applying a wet finger to the exterior surface of the glasses as they turned round. He called it the *Armonica*, in honor of the musical language of the Italians, as he says in a letter to Beccaria, in which it is minutely described.

For some time the Armonica was in much use. A Miss Davies acquired great skill in playing upon it. She performed in public, and, accompanied by her sister, who was a singer, she exhibited her skill in the principal cities of Europe, where she attracted large audiences, and the notice of distinguished individuals. The instruments were manufactured in London, and sold at the price of forty guineas each.*

At the beginning of the year 1762, Dr. Franklin began to think seriously about returning to his native country, and to prepare for his departure. His friend, Mr. Strahan, had endeavoured to prevail on him to bring over his family and settle himself in London. Mr. Strahan wrote to Mrs. Franklin on the subject, using much persuasion to win her consent to this project.

* Miss Davies performed in the presence of the Imperial court of Vienna, at the celebration of the nuptials of the Duke of Parma and the Archduchess of Austria. An ode was composed for the occasion by Met-

She was no less opposed to it than her husband, whose opinion may be gathered from the following account of a conversation with Mr. Strahan, contained in a letter to his wife. "He was very urgent with me to stay in England, and prevail with you to remove hither with Sally. He proposed several advantageous schemes to me, which appeared reasonably founded. His family is a very agreeable one; Mrs. Strahan a sensible and good woman, the children of amiable characters, and particularly the young man, who is sober, ingenious, and industrious, and a desirable person. In point of circumstances there can be no objection; Mr. Strahan

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astasio, expressly designed to be sung by her sister and accompanied by the *Armonica*. It was set to a new piece of music adapted to the instrument. The ode is here printed from a manuscript copy found among Dr. Franklin's papers.

"POESIA

"Per l' Occasione delle Nozze del Real Infante Duca di Parma con l' Arciduchessa d' Austria, cantata in Vienna dalla Cecilia Davies, detta l' Inglesina, Sorella dell' eccellente Sonatrice del nuovo Istrumento di Musica, chiamato l' Armonica, inventato dal celebre Dottore Franklin.

"Ah perchè col canto mio
Dolce all' alme ordir catena
Perchè mai non posso anch' io,
Filomena, al par di te?
S' oggi all' aure un labbro spande
Rozzi accenti, è troppo audace;
Ma, se tace in dì sì grande,
Men colpevole non è.

"Ardir, germana; a tuoi sonori adatta
Volubili cristalli
L' esperta mano; e ne risveglia il raro
Concento seduttor. Col canto anch' io
Tenterò d' imitarne
L' amoroso tenor. D' applausi e voti
Or che la Parma e l' Istro
D' Amalia e di Fernando
Agli augusti imenei tutto risuona,

being in such a way as to lay up a thousand pounds every year from the profits of his business, after maintaining his family and paying all charges. I gave him, however, two reasons why I could not think of removing hither; one, my affection to Pennsylvania, and long established friendships and other connexions there; the other, your invincible aversion to crossing the seas. And, without removing hither, I could not think of parting with my daughter to such a distance. I thanked him for the regard shown to us in the proposal, but gave him no expectation that I should forward the letters. So you are at liberty to answer or not, just as you think proper." As far as his pecuniary interests

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Saria fallo il tacer. Ne te del nuovo
Armonico strumento
Renda dubbiosa il lento,
Il tenue, il flebil suono. Abbiasi Marte
I suoi d' ire ministri
Strepitosi oricalchi; una soave
Armonia, non di sdegni
Ma di teneri affetti eccitatrice,
Più conviene ad amor; meglio accompagna
Quel che dall' alma bella
Si trasfonde sul volto
Alla Sposa Real placido lume,
Il benigno costume,
La dolce maestà. Benchè sommesso
Lo stil de' nostri accenti
A Lei grato sarà; che l' umil suono
Non è colpa o difetto;
E sempre in suono umil parla il rispetto.

"Alla stagion de' fiori
E de' novelli amori
È grato il molle fiato
D' un zeffiro leggier.
O gema tra le fronde,
O lento increspi l' onde;
Zeffiro in ogni lato
Compagno è del piacer.

"Questa cantata fù scritta dal Abate Pietro Metastasio, e messa in musica da Giovanni Adolfo Hasse, detto il Sassone."

were concerned, there is no doubt that they would have been essentially advanced by complying with Mr. Strahan's advice; but he had higher motives, and events proved that he judged wisely.

Before he left England he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from the Universities of Edinburgh and Oxford.* Other friends, besides Mr. Strahan, regretted his departure. Mr. Hume wrote; "I am very sorry, that you intend soon to leave our hemisphere. America has sent us many good things, gold, silver, sugar, tobacco, indigo, &c.; but you are the first philosopher, and indeed the first great man of letters, for whom we are beholden to her. It is our own fault, that we have not kept him; whence it appears, that we do not agree with Solomon, that wisdom is above gold; for we take care never to send back an ounce of the latter, which we once lay our fingers upon." Franklin replied; "Your compliment of *gold* and *wisdom* is very obliging to me, but a little injurious to your country. The various value of every thing in every part of this world arises, you know, from the various proportions of the quantity to the demand. We are told, that gold and silver in Solomon's time were so plenty, as to be of no more value in his country than the stones in the street. You have here at present just such a plenty of wisdom. Your people are, therefore, not to be censured for desiring no more among them than they have; and, if

* The date of the Oxford degree is April 30th, 1762. The following extract from the University records is found among Dr. Franklin's papers.

"February, 22d, 1762. Agreed, *nem. con.* at a meeting of the Heads of Houses, that Mr. Franklin, whenever he shall please to visit the University, shall be offered the compliment of the degree of D. C. L. *honoris causâ*. "I. Brown, *Vice-Can.*"

The degree of Master of Arts was likewise conferred on his son, William Franklin, at Oxford.

I have *any*, I should certainly carry it where, from its scarcity, it may probably come to a better market."

A few days before he sailed, his son was appointed governor of New Jersey, although the appointment was not publicly announced till some time afterwards. It is evident from this act of the ministry, that they had then conceived no prejudice against the father, on account of the part he had taken in the Pennsylvania controversy; for it could only have been through the influence of his character, and the interest made by his friends on this ground, that so high an office could have been obtained for the son, whose personal services had given him no adequate claims to such an elevation. This proof of confidence from the ministry was displeasing to the Proprietaries. They drew some consolation, however, even from so unpropitious a circumstance. Thomas Penn said, in a letter to Governor Hamilton, "I am told you will find Mr. Franklin more tractable, and I believe we shall, in matters of prerogative; as his son must obey instructions, and what he is ordered to do, the father cannot well oppose in Pennsylvania." This hope was of short duration. The father continued as untractable as ever, zealous in the people's cause, firm in its support, and active in every measure for establishing their rights on the basis of liberty and a just administration of the government.

The Proprietaries, suspicious of his designs, and dreading his influence, kept a watchful eye on him while he was in England; and they at least deserve the credit of candor for acquitting him of having been engaged in any practices, which they could censure. "I do not find," said Thomas Penn, in another letter to Governor Hamilton, "that he has done me any prejudice with any party, having had conversations with

all, in which I have studied to talk of these affairs; and I believe he has spent most of his time in philosophical, and especially in electrical matters, having generally company in a morning to see those experiments, and musical performances on glasses, where any one that knows him carries his friends." This declaration is honorable to both parties; and it shows that the agent, while performing his duty to his constituents, was not unmindful of a proper respect for the character and interests of his opponents.

Dr. Franklin sailed from England about the end of August, having resided there more than five years. In a letter, dated at Portsmouth on the 17th of that month, bidding farewell to Lord Kames, he said; "I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends in it without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those, who are leaving this world for the next; grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future." He arrived at Philadelphia on the 1st of November. The fleet, in which he took passage, under the convoy of a man-of-war, touched at Madeira, and was detained there a few days. They were kindly received and entertained by the inhabitants, on account of the protection afforded them by the English fleet against the united invasion of France and Spain. Not long after his return to Philadelphia, he wrote to Mr. Richard Jackson a full account of the island of Madeira, its population, soil, climate, and productions; but the letter has never been published, and it is supposed to be lost.

CHAPTER III.

Receives the Thanks of the Assembly. — Tour through the Middle and Eastern Colonies. — Engages again in Public Affairs. — Massacre of Indians in Lancaster. — Franklin's Pamphlet on the Subject, and his Agency in pacifying the Insurgents. — Colonel Bouquet's Account of his Public Services. — Disputes revived between the Governor and the Assembly. — Militia Bill defeated. — The Governor rejects a Bill in which the Proprietary Estates are taxed. — The Assembly resolve to petition the King for a Change of Government. — Petition drafted by Franklin. — Chosen Speaker of the Assembly. — Norris, Dickinson, Galloway. — Scheme for Stamp Duties opposed by the Assembly. — Franklin is not elected to the Assembly. — Appointed Agent to the Court of Great Britain. — Sails for England.

No sooner was his arrival known in Philadelphia, than his friends, both political and private, whose attachment had not abated during his long absence, flocked around him to offer their congratulations on the success of his mission, and his safe return to his family. At each election, while he was abroad, he had been chosen a member of the Assembly, and he again took his seat in that body. The subject of his agency was brought before the House. A committee was appointed to examine his accounts, who reported that they were accurate and just; and a resolve was passed, granting him three thousand pounds sterling, as a remuneration for his services while engaged in the public employment. This resolve was followed by a vote of thanks "for his many services, not only to the province of Pennsylvania, but to America in general, during his late agency at the court of Great Britain."

As the contest was one, however, in which two parties were enlisted in opposition, with all the violence of zeal and acrimony of personal feeling, which usually attend controversies of this nature, he had the

misfortune to draw down upon himself the enmity of one party, in proportion to the applause which his successful endeavours elicited from the other. And it may here be observed, that the part he took in these proprietary quarrels for the defence and protection of popular rights, which he sustained by the full weight of his extraordinary abilities, was the foundation of the inveterate hostility against his political character, with which he was assailed in various ways to the end of his life, and the effects of which have scarcely disappeared at the present day. Yet no one, who now impartially surveys the history of the transactions in which he was engaged, can doubt the justice of the cause he espoused with so much warmth, and which he upheld to the last with unwavering constancy and firmness.

Circumstances raised him to a high position as a leader, his brilliant talents kept him there, and he thus became the object of a malevolence, which had been engendered by disappointment, and embittered by defeat. This he bore with a philosophical equanimity, and went manfully onward with the resolution of a stern and true patriot, forgiving his enemies, and never deserting his friends, faithful to every trust, and, above all, faithful to the liberties and best interests of his country.

In consequence of so long an absence from home, his private affairs required attention for some time after his return. Holding the office of postmaster-general in America, he spent five months of the year 1763, in travelling through the northern colonies for the purpose of inspecting the postoffices. He went eastward as far as New Hampshire, and the whole extent of his tour, in going and coming, was about sixteen hundred miles. In this journey he was ac-

companied by his daughter, and it was performed in a light carriage, driven by himself. A saddle horse made a part of the equipage, on which his daughter rode, as he informs us, nearly all the way from Rhode Island to Philadelphia. The meeting of his old friends in Boston, Rhode Island, and New York, afforded him much enjoyment, and he was detained many days in each place by their hospitality. At New York he met General Amherst, commander-in-chief of the British army in America, who received him with flattering civilities.

He was also obliged to move slowly, on account of a weakness and pain in the breast, attended with unfavorable symptoms, which were increased by two accidental falls, in one of which his shoulder was dislocated. To relieve the anxiety of his sister, at whose house he had stayed in Boston, he wrote to her as follows, immediately after he reached home. "I find myself quite clear from pain, and so have at length left off the cold bath. There is, however, still some weakness in my shoulder, though much stronger than when I left Boston, and mending. I am otherwise very happy in being at home, where I am allowed to know when I have eat enough and drunk enough, am warm enough, and sit in a place that I like, and nobody pretends to know what I feel better than myself. Do not imagine, that I am a whit the less sensible of the kindness I experienced among my friends in New England. I am very thankful for it, and shall always retain a grateful remembrance of it."

His health and strength were gradually restored, and he entered again with his accustomed ardor and energy into the pursuits of active life. At this time, also, there was a demand for the service of every citizen, whose knowledge of business and experience in

public affairs qualified him to execute important trusts. The peace, while it relieved the country from a foreign foe, had been the signal for disbanding the forces, which protected the frontiers. Hitherto, the thirst of the savages for blood and rapine, inflamed by the late war, had been satisfied in fighting the battles of their civilized neighbours, and in murdering and plundering under their sanction; but now, having had no share in making the peace, and deriving no benefit from it, they conceived the project of continuing the war on their own account. In pursuance of this plan, the western tribes formed themselves into a confederacy, and broke in upon the frontier settlements of the middle provinces, with a boldness and ferocity, that had seldom been shown on former occasions, murdering the inhabitants, burning their houses, and carrying off or destroying their effects.

To meet this exigency, it was necessary to raise troops, and to procure money for paying them and for purchasing military supplies. This was promptly done by the Assembly of Pennsylvania, and commissioners were appointed to expend the money appropriated for these objects. Franklin was one of the commissioners.

In the month of December, a tragical occurrence took place in Lancaster County, as revolting to humanity, as it was disgraceful to the country. At the Conestogo manor, resided the remnant of a tribe of Indians, which had dwindled down to twenty persons, men, women, and children. Their chief, a venerable old man, who had assisted at the second treaty held with the Indian tribes by William Penn, more than sixty years before, had from that day lived on terms of friendship with his white neighbours, and he and his people had ever been distinguished for their peace-

able and inoffensive behaviour. The little village of huts, which they occupied, was surrounded in the night by fifty-seven armed men, who came on horseback from two of the frontier townships, and every individual then present was massacred in cold blood. The old chief was murdered in his bed. It happened, that six persons only were at home, the other fourteen being absent among the surrounding whites. These Indians were collected by the magistrates of Lancaster, brought to the town, and put into the workhouse as the place of greatest safety.

When the news of this atrocious act came to Philadelphia, the Governor issued a proclamation, calling on all justices, sheriffs, and other public officers civil and military, to make diligent search for the perpetrators of the crime, and cause them to be apprehended and confined in the jails, till they could be tried by the laws. In defiance of this proclamation, fifty of these barbarians, armed as before, marched into the town of Lancaster, broke open the door of the workhouse, and deliberately murdered every Indian it contained; and, strange as it may seem, the magistrates and other inhabitants were mute spectators of this scene of horror, without attempting to rescue the unhappy victims from their fate. Not one of the murderers was apprehended, the laws and the Governor's authority being alike disregarded.

Such an outrage upon humanity, and so daring a violation of all laws human and divine, could not but kindle the indignation of every benevolent mind, and fill with alarm every friend of social order. To exhibit the transaction in its proper colors before the public, Franklin wrote a *Narrative of the late Massacres in Lancaster County*; usually called the *Paxton Murders*, because many of the rioters belonged to a

frontier town of that name. After a brief and impressive relation of the facts, he cites examples from history to show, that even heathens, in the rudest stages of civilization, had never tolerated such crimes as had here been perpetrated in the heart of a Christian community.

Appealing to the inhabitants, he says; "Let us rouse ourselves, for shame, and redeem the honor of our province from the contempt of its neighbours; let all good men join heartily and unanimously in support of the laws, and in strengthening the hands of government; that justice may be done, the wicked punished, and the innocent protected; otherwise we can, as a people, expect no blessing from Heaven; there will be no security for our persons or properties; anarchy and confusion will prevail over all; and violence without judgment dispose of every thing." The style of this pamphlet is more vehement and rhetorical, than is common in the author's writings, but it is characterized by the peculiar clearness and vigor which mark all his compositions.

But neither the able exposure of the wickedness of the act, nor the eloquent and passionate appeal to the sensibilities of the people, contained in this performance, could stifle the spirit that was abroad, or check the fury with which it raged. The friendly Indians throughout the province, some of whom had been converted to Christianity by the Moravians, were alarmed at this war of extermination waged against their race. One hundred and forty of them fled for protection to Philadelphia. For a time they were kept in safety on Province Island, near the city. When the insurgents threatened to march down and put them all to death, the Assembly resolved to repel them by force. The fugitives were taken into the city, and secured in the barracks.

There being no regular militia, Franklin, at the request of the Governor, formed a military Association, as he had done on another occasion in a time of public danger. Nine companies were organized, and nearly a thousand citizens embodied themselves under arms. The insurgents advanced as far as Germantown, within six miles of Philadelphia, where, hearing of the preparation that had been made to protect the Indians, they thought it prudent to pause. Taking advantage of this crisis, the Governor and Council appointed Franklin and three other gentlemen to go out and meet them, and endeavour to turn them from their purpose. This mission was successful. Finding it impossible to carry their design into execution, they were at last prevailed upon to return peaceably to their homes.

Two persons were deputed by the rioters, before they separated, to be the bearers of their complaints to the Governor and the Assembly. This was done by a memorial to the Governor in behalf of the inhabitants of the frontier settlements. Divers grievances were enumerated, particularly the distresses they suffered from the savages, who had murdered defenceless families, and been guilty in numerous instances of the most barbarous cruelties. Much sophistry was used to extenuate, or rather to defend, the conduct of those, who, driven to desperation, had determined to make an indiscriminate slaughter of the Indians. It was alleged, that the friendship of these Indians was only a pretence; that they harboured traitors among them, who sent intelligence to the war parties and abetted their atrocities; that retaliation was justifiable, the war being against the Indians as a nation, of which every tribe and individual constituted a part.

With such reasoning as this the multitude was sat-

isfied. Religious frenzy suggested another argument. Joshua had been commanded to destroy the heathen. The Indians were heathens; hence there was a divine command to exterminate them. Another memorial, with fifteen hundred signatures, was sent to the Assembly. They were both referred to a committee, but, the Governor declining to support the measures recommended, no further steps were taken.

The character and result of these extraordinary proceedings show, in the first place, that the criminal outrages were approved by a large party in the province; and next, that the government, either from want of intelligence and firmness in the head, or of union in the parts, was too feeble to execute justice and preserve public order. Great credit is due to the agency of Franklin, in stopping the tide of insurrection and quieting the commotions. By his personal exertions and influence, as well as by his pen, he labored to strengthen the arm of government, diffuse correct sentiments among the people, and maintain the supremacy of the laws.

His duties, as a member of the board of commissioners for the disposal of the public money, in carrying on the war against the Indians, were arduous and faithfully performed. Colonel Bouquet commanded the army in Pennsylvania, consisting of regular troops and provincial levies. He applied to the Governor and commissioners for liberty to enlist more men, his ranks having been thinned by desertions. On this subject he wrote a letter to Franklin, containing a recital of his public services, which justly claims the reader's notice. It is dated at Fort Loudoun, August 22d, 1764.

"My dependence was, as usual, upon you; and, indeed, had you not supported my request in the warm-

est manner, it must have miscarried, and left me exposed to many inconveniences. Your conduct on this occasion does not surprise me, as I have not alone experienced the favorable effects of your readiness to promote the service. I know that General Shirley owed to you the considerable supply of provisions this government voted for his troops, besides warm clothing; that you alone could and did procure for General Braddock the carriages, without which he could not have proceeded on his expedition; that you had a road opened through this province to supply more easily his army with provisions, and spent a summer in those different services without any other reward, than the satisfaction of serving the public. And I am not unacquainted with the share you had in carrying safely through the House, at a very difficult time, the bill for sixty thousand pounds during Lord Loudoun's command. But, without recapitulating instances in which I was not directly concerned, I remember gratefully, that as early as 1756, when I was sent by Lord Loudoun to obtain quarters in Philadelphia for the first battalion of the Royal American Regiment, I could not have surmounted the difficulties made by your people, who, at that time unacquainted with the quartering of troops, expressed the greatest reluctance to comply with my request, till you were so good as to take the affair in hand, and obtain all that was desired.

"I have not been less obliged to you in the execution of the present act, having been an eyewitness of your forwardness to carry at the board, as a commissioner, every measure I proposed for the success of this expedition. This acknowledgment being the only return I can make, for the repeated services I have received from you in my public station, I beg you will

excuse my prolixity upon a subject so agreeable to myself, as the expression of my gratitude."

In October, 1763, John Penn arrived in Pennsylvania, as successor to Governor Hamilton. Being connected by family ties with the Proprietaries, it was hoped that he was invested with larger discretionary powers, than had been intrusted to the late deputy-governors, and that he would be both enabled and disposed to administer the government in a manner better adapted to the condition, wants, and privileges of the people.

He called the Assembly together by a special summons, and his first message abounded in good wishes and patriotic professions. It was received by the Assembly, as stated in their reply, "with the most cordial satisfaction." The session opened propitiously; six hundred pounds were granted to the Governor towards his support for the first year; and a vote was passed to raise, pay, and supply one thousand men, to be employed in the King's service during the approaching campaign against the western Indians. It was soon perceived, however, that the hope of a change in the temper and aims of the Proprietaries was not to be realized. The old controversies were revived, with as much warmth and pertinacity as ever, and with as little prospect of a reconciliation. Franklin, from the position he held, necessarily became a leader, on the side of the Assembly, in these new disputes.

The recent disorders in the province convinced the Governor, that the civil power required a stronger support, than any that could then be brought to its aid. He recommended a militia law, by which the citizens might be embodied for their own protection and the public defence. The proposal was well re-

ceived by the Assembly, and a committee was instructed to frame a bill. Franklin was a member of this committee. A bill was reported, similar to the one which he had framed and carried through the House at the beginning of the late war. Each company was allowed to choose three persons for each of the offices of captain, lieutenant, and ensign. Out of these three the Governor was to select and commission the one he thought most proper. In like manner the officers of companies were to choose the officers of regiments, three for each office being recommended to the Governor, any one of whom he might select and commission. Fines were imposed for offences, and the offenders were to be tried by judges and juries in the courts of law.

In this shape the bill was passed, and presented to the Governor for his signature. He refused his assent, and returned it to the House with amendments, claiming to himself the sole appointment of officers, enhancing the amounts of the fines, requiring all trials to be by a court-martial, and making some offences punishable by death.

The Assembly would not for a moment listen to an assumption so dangerous to the liberties of the people. It was no less than putting the power of imposing exorbitant fines, and even of inflicting the punishment of death, into the hands of a set of officers depending on the Governor alone for their commissions, and responsible to him alone for the manner in which these were executed. The bill was accordingly lost. Dr. Franklin wrote and published an account of the proceedings, in relation to this militia bill, showing the causes of its failure, and the unjustifiable conduct and designs of the proprietary party in the course they had taken to defeat it.

This was only the prelude to a more important dispute, in which the Governor contrived to embroil himself with the Assembly. Money was to be provided for paying the expenses of the Indian war. It was proposed to raise fifty thousand pounds by emitting bills of credit; and, for the redemption of these bills, a land tax, among other sources of revenue, was to be laid. Conformably to the decision of the King in Council, the proprietary lands were to be included in this tax. In one part of that decision the words were, "The located uncultivated lands of the Proprietaries shall not be assessed higher than the lowest rate, at which any located uncultivated lands belonging to the inhabitants shall be assessed." The Assembly understood this clause to mean, that the proprietary lands should not be rated higher, than lands of a similar quality belonging to other persons. The Governor, availing himself of an ambiguity in the language, gave it a different sense, insisting that all the proprietary lands, however good their quality, were to be rated as low as the worst and least valuable lands belonging to the people.

The Assembly replied, that, if it were possible to torture the clause into this meaning, it was nevertheless a forced construction, unheard of before, contrary to justice, and discreditable to the Proprietaries, since it was bottomed on selfishness, and brought their interest in conflict with their honor. After much wrangling and delay, the Assembly were obliged to wave their rights, and consent to the passage of the act on the Governor's terms. The savages were invading their borders, and the troops must be supported.

These vexations exhausted the patience of the Assembly. Convinced that they must continually fight the same battles over with the new Governor, and

with every succeeding Governor appointed by the Proprietaries, they passed a series of resolves, just before their adjournment, stating the oppressions which the inhabitants of Pennsylvania suffered from their rulers, and expressing their belief, that peace and happiness could never be restored to the province, till the power of governing it should be lodged in the crown. They then adjourned, for the avowed purpose of consulting their constituents on the subject of presenting a petition to the King, praying him to take the government into his own hands.

During the recess of the Assembly, Dr. Franklin wrote a tract, entitled *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of Public Affairs*, in which he described the evils of the Proprietary government, explained their causes, and came to the conclusion, that most of these evils were inherent in the nature of the government itself, and that the only remedy was a change, by substituting a royal government in its stead, "without the intervention of proprietary powers, which, like unnecessary springs and movements in a machine, are apt to produce disorder." This pamphlet was written with the design of drawing public attention to the Assembly's resolves, and of preparing the way for prompt and efficient action when the members should again convene. They came together on the 14th of May, after an adjournment of seven weeks. Numerous petitions to the King for a change of government, signed by more than three thousand of the inhabitants and coming from all parts of the province, were laid before them.

Encouraged by this manifestation of public sentiment, the House decided by a large majority to promote and sustain the prayer of the petitioners. A petition to the King from the Assembly, for the same object,

was accordingly drafted by Dr. Franklin. The debates were animated, both parties exerting their whole strength in the conflict. The majority in favor of the measure was so great, however, that the war of words produced no effect on the result. Yet some men wavered, who had hitherto stood firm. Among these was Mr. Norris, the Speaker, who had filled the chair many years, respected by all parties for his integrity, abilities, and public spirit. He had acted steadily with those, who opposed the proprietary encroachments; but he looked for redress and amendment, rather than for a radical change; and he was unwilling to affix his signature to the petition. He resigned his seat, and Franklin was chosen in his place; the petition passed the House, and was signed by him as Speaker.

John Dickinson was another wavering member. He had disapproved the proprietary measures, but in this affair of the petition he was the champion of that party in the Assembly. His speech on the occasion, eloquent and spirited, though more declamatory than argumentative, was published, with a Preface by another hand. The writer of the Preface indulged himself in a strain of personal invective and harsh reflection, never called for by a good cause, and rarely serviceable to a bad one. As a counterbalance to this pamphlet, Galloway, an able and popular leader on the other side, wrote out and published the speech he had delivered in reply to Dickinson. A *Preface* was contributed by Dr. Franklin, which, for sarcastic humor and force of argument, is one of the best of his performances. Perfectly master of his subject, and confident in his strength, he meets his opponents on their own ground, using his weapons in defence and assault with equal adroitness and self-command.

One of the objections against a change of government gave some uneasiness even to those, who were bent upon that measure. The rights and privileges of the people, which they most valued, were secured by the charters; and, it was said, if the government should devolve on the King, he might take away the charters, or impose such restraints as would essentially abridge, if not annihilate, the freedom they then enjoyed.

To this it could only be replied, that such a thing was in the highest degree improbable; that nothing more was asked of the King, than that he would, by fair purchase, obtain the jurisdiction of the province, thereby standing in the place of the Proprietaries; that William Penn had made some progress in negotiating such a sale to the crown before his death, and it could never have been his design to deprive the inhabitants of the charters, which had been granted to them in good faith, and which had afforded the chief inducement to the settlers for purchasing and cultivating the lands. As a proof, that this confidence in the royal honor and magnanimity was not misplaced, the example of other colonies was cited, where a similar change had been effected, without any injury to the charters or any abridgment of liberty.

These views were plausible, but they were not such as to remove all doubts, even from the majority in the Assembly; for, when they forwarded the petitions to Mr. Jackson, their agent in London, they enjoined him to proceed with the utmost caution, securing to the inhabitants all the privileges, civil and religious, which they had hitherto enjoyed by their charters and laws; and, in case he should apprehend any danger to these privileges, he was required to suspend further action, till he should receive additional directions from the Assembly.

At the next session, the most important business, which engaged the attention of the House, was the proposal of the British ministry to raise a revenue by stamp duties in the colonies. The Assembly of Pennsylvania, participating in the excitement, which this intelligence had caused throughout the country, sent instructions to their agent in England, remonstrating against any such scheme, as tending to "deprive the people of their most essential rights as British subjects." The signing of these instructions was the last act of Dr. Franklin as Speaker of the House.

The election in the autumn of this year, 1764, was sharply contested. It turned on the question of a change of government. The proprietary party, having much at stake, redoubled their efforts; and, in the city of Philadelphia and some of the counties, they were successful. Franklin, after having been chosen fourteen years successively, now lost his election, there being against him a majority of about twenty-five votes in four thousand. But, after all, it was an empty triumph. When the members convened, there were two to one in favor of the measures of the last Assembly, and they resolved to carry these measures into effect. Being determined to pursue their object with all the force they could bring to bear upon it, they appointed Dr. Franklin as a special agent to proceed to the court of Great Britain, and there to take charge of the petition for a change of government, and to manage the general affairs of the province.

This appointment was a surprise upon the proprietary party. They had imagined, that, by defeating his election, they had rid themselves of an active and troublesome opponent in the Assembly, and weakened his influence abroad. When it was proposed, therefore, to raise him to a situation, in which he could

more effectually than ever serve the same cause, the agitation in the House, and the clamor out of doors, were extreme.

His adversaries testified their chagrin by the means they used to prevent his appointment. Even John Dickinson, while he could not refrain from eulogizing him as a man, inveighed strenuously against his political principles and conduct; at the same time exhibiting symptoms of alarm, that would seem almost ludicrous, if it were not known what power there is in the spirit of party to distort truth and pervert the judgment. "The gentleman proposed," he says, in a speech to the House, "has been called here to-day 'a great luminary of the learned world.' Far be it from me to detract from the merit I admire. Let him still shine, but without wrapping his country in flames. Let him, from a private station, from a smaller sphere, diffuse, as I think he may, a beneficial light; but let him not be made to move and blaze like a comet to terrify and distress." Not satisfied with lavishing abuse upon him in debate, his enemies procured a remonstrance to be drawn up and signed by many of their adherents in the city, which was presented to the Assembly. Such an attempt to prejudice the representatives, or bias their proceedings, was not likely to have any other effect on his friends, than to excite their indignation, and unite them more firmly in his favor.

The remonstrants, failing in the Assembly, published their objections in the form of a *Protest.* As it was now too late to change what had been done, no practical end could be answered by this publication. Hence it may be ascribed to other motives, than solicitude for the public welfare. It was objected, that Dr. Franklin had been the chief author of

the late measures for a change of government. Allowing this to be true, it was so far from being an objection in the opinion of his friends, that it afforded one of the best reasons for intrusting to him the prosecution of those measures. It was further objected, that he was not in favor with the ministers, that he stood on ill terms with the Proprietaries, and that he was extremely disagreeable to a large number of the inhabitants of the province; all of which, as declared by the protesters, disqualified him for the agency he was about to undertake.

He wrote remarks on these charges, just before his departure for England, examining them in detail, replying to each, and saying at the conclusion; "I am now to take leave, perhaps a last leave, of the country I love, and in which I have spent the greatest part of my life. *Esto perpetua*, I wish every kind of prosperity to my friends; and I forgive my enemies." This forgiveness he could the more easily bestow, since his enemies, with all their industrious efforts to defame and injure him as a public man, had never insinuated a suspicion unfavorable to his private reputation or his character as a citizen.

There being no money in the treasury, that could be immediately appropriated to defray the agent's expenses, the Assembly voted, that these expenses should be provided for in the next bill that should be passed for raising money. Upon the strength of this pledge, the merchants, in two hours, subscribed eleven hundred pounds as a loan to the public for this object. On the 7th of November, only twelve days after his appointment, Franklin left Philadelphia, accompanied by a cavalcade of three hundred citizens, who attended him to Chester, where he was to go on board the vessel. "The affectionate leave taken of me by so

many dear friends at Chester," said he, "was very endearing; God bless them and all Pennsylvania." He sailed the next day, but the vessel was detained over night at Reedy Island in the Delaware. At that place he wrote a letter to his daughter, from which the following is an extract.

"My dear child, the natural prudence and goodness of heart God has blessed you with, make it less necessary for me to be particular in giving you advice. I shall therefore only say, that the more attentively dutiful and tender you are towards your good mamma, the more you will recommend yourself to me. But why should I mention *me*, when you have so much higher a promise in the commandments, that such conduct will recommend you to the favor of God. You know I have many enemies, all indeed on the public account, (for I cannot recollect, that I have in a private capacity given just cause of offence to any one whatever,) yet they are enemies, and very bitter ones; and you must expect their enmity will extend in some degree to you, so that your slightest indiscretions will be magnified into crimes, in order the more sensibly to wound and afflict me. It is, therefore, the more necessary for you to be extremely circumspect in all your behaviour, that no advantage may be given to their malevolence.

"Go constantly to church, whoever preaches. The act of devotion in the Common Prayer Book is your principal business there, and, if properly attended to, will do more towards amending the heart than sermons generally can do. For they were composed by men of much greater piety and wisdom, than our common composers of sermons can pretend to be; and therefore I wish you would never miss the prayer days; yet I do not mean you should despise sermons,

even of the preachers you dislike; for the discourse is often much better than the man, as sweet and clear waters come through very dirty earth. I am the more particular on this head, as you seemed to express, a little before I came away, some inclination to leave our church, which I would not have you do."

After a tempestuous voyage of thirty days, he landed at Portsmouth, and proceeded immediately to London, where he again took lodgings at Mrs. Stevenson's in Craven Street. When the news of his safe arrival came back to Philadelphia, his friends celebrated the event by the ringing of bells and other demonstrations of joy.

CHAPTER IV.

Origin of the Stamp Act. — Franklin's Opposition to it. — His Remarks on the Passage of the Act, in a Letter to Charles Thomson. — False Charges against him in Relation to this Subject. — Dean Tucker. — Effects of the Stamp Act in America. — Franklin's Examination before Parliament. — Stamp Act repealed. — Mr. Pitt. — Declaratory Act. — American Paper Currency. — Franklin's Answer to Lord Hillsborough's Report against it. — New Scheme for taxing the Colonies by supplying them with Paper Money. — Franklin travels in Holland and Germany. — His Ideas of the Nature of the Union between the Colonies and Great Britain. — Plan of a Colonial Representation in Parliament. — Franklin visits Paris. — His "Account of the Causes of the American Discontents." — Change of Ministry. — Lord Hillsborough at the Head of the American Department. — Rumor that Dr. Franklin was to have an Office under him.

HENCEFORTH we are to pursue the career of Franklin on a broader theatre of action. Although he went to England as a special agent for Pennsylvania, yet circumstances soon led him to take an active and conspicuous part in the general affairs of the colonies. The policy avowed by the British government after the treaty of Paris, and the fruits of that policy in new restrictions on the colonial trade, had already spread discontent throughout the country. The threatened measure of the Stamp Act had contributed to increase this discontent, and fix it more deeply in the hearts of the people. The colonies were unanimous in remonstrating against this new mode of taxation, as hostile to the liberties of Englishmen, and an invasion of the charter rights, which had been granted to them, and which they had hitherto enjoyed.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania, entertaining this view of the subject, in common with all the other assemblies on the continent, instructed Dr. Franklin to use his efforts, in behalf of the province, to prevent the

passage of the act. The first steps he took for this object, as well as the origin of the measure itself, are briefly explained by him in a letter written some years afterwards to Mr. William Alexander. It is dated at Passy, March 12th, 1778.

"In the pamphlet you were so kind as to lend me, there is one important fact misstated, apparently from the writer's not having been furnished with good information; it is the transaction between Mr. Grenville and the colonies, wherein he understands, that Mr. Grenville demanded of them a specific sum, that they refused to grant any thing, and that it was on their refusal only, that he made the motion for the Stamp Act. No one of these particulars is true. The fact was this.

"Some time in the winter of 1763–4, Mr. Grenville called together the agents of the several colonies, and told them, that he proposed to draw a revenue from America, and to that end his intention was to levy a stamp duty on the colonies by act of Parliament in the ensuing session, of which he thought it fit that they should be immediately acquainted, that they might have time to consider, and, if any other duty equally productive would be more agreeable to them, they might let him know it. The agents were therefore directed to write this to their respective Assemblies, and communicate to him the answers they should receive; the agents wrote accordingly.

"I was a member in the Assembly of Pennsylvania when this notification came to hand. The observations there made upon it were, that the ancient, established, and regular method of drawing aids from the colonies was this. The occasion was always first considered by their sovereign in his privy council, by whose sage advice he directed his secretary of state

to write circular letters to the several governors, who were directed to lay them before their Assemblies. In those letters the occasion was explained for their satisfaction, with gracious expressions of his Majesty's confidence in their known duty and affection, on which he relied, that they would grant such sums as should be suitable to their abilities, loyalty, and zeal for his service. That the colonies had always granted liberally on such requisitions, and so liberally during the late war, that the King, sensible they had granted much more than their proportion, had recommended it to Parliament, five years successively, to make them some compensation, and the Parliament accordingly returned them two hundred thousand pounds a year, to be divided among them. That the proposition of taxing them in Parliament was therefore both cruel and unjust. That, by the constitution of the colonies, their business was with the *King*, in matters of aid; they had nothing to do with any *financier*, nor he with them; nor were the agents the proper channels through which requisitions should be made; it was therefore improper for them to enter in any stipulation, or make any proposition, to Mr. Grenville about laying taxes on their constituents by Parliament, which had really no right at all to tax them, especially as the notice he had sent them did not appear to be by the King's order, and perhaps was without his knowledge; as the King, when he would obtain any thing from them, always accompanied his requisition with good words; but this gentleman, instead of a decent demand, sent them a menace, that they should certainly be taxed, and only left them the choice of the manner. But, all this notwithstanding, they were so far from refusing to grant money, that they resolved to the following purpose; 'That, as they always had, so they always should think

it their duty to grant aid to the crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them in the usual constitutional manner.'

"I went soon after to England, and took with me an authentic copy of this resolution, which I presented to Mr. Grenville before he brought in the Stamp Act. I asserted in the House of Commons (Mr. Grenville being present), that I had done so, and he did not deny it. Other colonies made similar resolutions. And, had Mr. Grenville, instead of that act, applied to the King in Council for such requisitional letters to be circulated by the secretary of state, I am sure he would have obtained more money from the colonies by their voluntary grants, than he himself expected from his stamps. But he chose compulsion rather than persuasion, and would not receive from their good will what he thought he could obtain without it. And thus the golden bridge, which the ingenious author thinks the Americans unwisely and unbecomingly refused to hold out to the minister and Parliament, was actually held out to them, but they refused to walk over it. This is the true history of that transaction; and, as it is probable there may be another edition of that excellent pamphlet, I wish this may be communicated to the candid author, who, I doubt not, will correct that error."

It is here to be observed, that the alternative allowed by the minister was, that the colonists might either submit to a stamp duty, or suggest some other tax, which should yield an equal amount to the revenue. At all events, the tax was to be levied by Parliament. The proposal in both forms was universally rejected by the colonists, who denied that Parliament had any right to tax them, since they were not represented in that body; it being a fundamental

principle of the British Constitution, that no man shall be taxed except by himself or his representatives. It was affirmed, that this principle, constituting the bulwark of British freedom, recognised in the colonial charters, and confirmed by numerous laws which had received the King's assent, could not now be violated without an exercise of power, as unjust and tyrannical as it was unprecedented. But the ministry had formed their plans, and were not in a humor to recede. The Stamp Act was passed, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the American Assemblies, and the strenuous opposition of all their agents in London.

Some time after this event, Dr. Franklin wrote as follows to Charles Thomson. "Depend upon it, my good neighbour, I took every step in my power to prevent the passing of the Stamp Act. Nobody could be more concerned and interested than myself to oppose it sincerely and heartily. But the tide was too strong against us. The nation was provoked by American claims of independence, and all parties joined by resolving in this act to settle the point. We might as well have hindered the sun's setting. That we could not do. But since it is down, my friend, and it may be long before it rises again, let us make as good a night of it as we can. We may still light candles. Frugality and industry will go a great way towards indemnifying us. Idleness and pride tax with a heavier hand than kings and parliaments. If we can get rid of the former, we may easily get rid of the latter." *

* This letter was dated in London, July 11th, 1765. Charles Thomson said, in his answer; "The sun of liberty is indeed fast setting, if not down already, in the American colonies. But I much fear, instead of the candles you mention being lighted, you will hear of the works of darkness. They are in general alarmed to the last degree. The colonies expect, and with reason expect, that some regard shall be had to their liberties and privileges, as well as trade. They cannot bring

Dr. Franklin's political enemies in Pennsylvania spread a rumor, that he approved the Stamp Act. A gentleman in London hearing of this report, wrote to his correspondent in Philadelphia; "I can safely assert, from my own personal knowledge, that Dr. Franklin did all in his power to prevent the Stamp Act from passing; that he waited on the ministry to inform them fully of its mischievous tendency; and that he has uniformly opposed it to the utmost of his ability." This rumor was set afloat for party purposes, and was propagated by those, who wished to lessen his credit and growing popularity in the province. The end was not gained. On the contrary, when his exertions against this "mother of mischiefs," as he called the Stamp Act, became known, and the motives of his enemies in giving countenance to such a charge were understood, the popular voice was more loud than before in his favor, and the public confidence in his character and patriotism was increased.

Dr. Tucker, Dean of Gloucester, in a treatise pub-

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themselves to believe, nor can they see how England with reason or justice expects, that they should have encountered the horrors of a desert, borne the attacks of barbarous savages, and, at the expense of their blood and treasure, settled this country to the great emolument of England, and, after all, quietly submit to be deprived of every thing an Englishman has been taught to hold dear. It is not property only we contend for. Our liberty and most essential privileges are struck at." Other parts of this letter are contained in the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, of March 6th, 1766, where the extract above quoted, and Thomson's reply, were first published. See also the *American Quarterly Review*, Vol. XVIII. p. 92. The extract from Franklin's letter is inaccurately printed in the *Gazette*, there being omissions and additions. The changes were probably made by his correspondent, or the editor, to suit the occasion. It was printed without the author's name, and of course without his knowledge, as he was then absent in England. Historians, following Dr. Gordon, have quoted the passage still less accurately. When the author speaks of the "American claims of independence," he alludes to the claim of the colonists to an independence of Parliament in regard to taxation, which was now the subject of dispute.

lished by him on the colonial troubles, reiterated the same false charge, and added, that Dr. Franklin even solicited for himself the office of stamp-distributor in America. When this strange assertion fell under the eyes of Franklin, he wrote to the Dean, demanding an explanation. The Dean's reply was awkward and unsatisfactory. He had heard it often reported, that Dr. Franklin applied for a place in the distribution of stamps; he drew the inference, that the place was solicited for himself; and this inference he had converted into a fact. So much he was constrained to confess; whereas, upon further inquiry, he could find no positive proof of the charge, though there was evidence of Dr. Franklin's having applied in favor of another person. This latter circumstance, in the Dean's opinion, was a sufficient vindication of his conduct, since it appeared to him "very immaterial to the general merits of the question," whether he had solicited for himself or for a friend.

To correct this distorted and disingenuous view of the subject, Dr. Franklin communicated to him the particulars of the transaction, which are briefly these. Not long after the Stamp Act was passed, Mr. Grenville called the colonial agents together, and, by his secretary, requested them to name such persons in the respective colonies, as they thought were qualified for the office of stamp-distributor, and as would be acceptable to the inhabitants, saying, that he did not design to send these officers over from England, but to select them from among the people, who were to pay the tax. Each agent accordingly nominated an individual for the province he represented. Dr. Franklin named for Pennsylvania Mr. John Hughes, who received the appointment.

Here we have the substance of all that he did in

this business, which was misrepresented at the time, and artfully turned to his disadvantage. Neither he, nor any of the agents, had the least suspicion, that they were to be considered as approving the Stamp Act, because they had complied with the minister's request in making these nominations. In fact, they had opposed it at every step, and, the act being passed, they could not foresee the hostility it was destined to encounter in America; nor could they, with common prudence, set up a resistance against it without knowing the will of their constituents, thereby weakening, if not destroying, their influence at the British court at a time when it was most needed, and jeoparding the interests they were bound to protect.*

The news of the passage of the Stamp Act produced a universal excitement in America. The Assemblies, as soon as they came together, passed resolutions in which the act was declared to be iniquitous, oppressive, and without precedent in the annals of British legislation. The same tone and temper, the same firmness of purpose, and the same enthusiastic attachment to their liberties, pervaded them all. Yet their public proceedings were marked with decorum and moderation. They were resolute in proclaiming their rights, and their determination to preserve them unimpaired. The authority of the British government, within its former just limits, was acknowledged. Their resolves were pointed and strong, but respectful in temper and language. To procure a repeal of the Stamp Act was the immediate object, and, to effect this, petitions were sent from all quarters to the agents

* See the correspondence between Dr. Franklin and Dr. Tucker, Vol. IV. pp. 516–525. In a subsequent edition of his tract, the Dean corrected, in part, his erroneous assertion, but in such a manner as left him little credit for candor or magnanimity.

in London, with instructions to have them laid before the King and Parliament.

While the Assemblies were thus engaged, the people testified their sentiments in a different manner. They showed their resentment particularly against the distributors of stamps, officers odious in their sight, as having consented to be agents in executing the detested act. By riots, mobs, burning in effigy, threats, and violent assaults, they compelled every stamp officer in the country to resign his commission, and to declare publicly, that he would not act in his office. The people's wrath was kindled against the stamped paper, as if it were fraught with the seeds of a pestilence, or a contagious poison. They resolved, that the American soil should never be contaminated by its touch; and, when it arrived, the governors and other principal officers were forced to keep it on board armed vessels in the harbours, till it was finally all sent back to England.

Such was the state of things in America, when the subject was again brought before Parliament, at the beginning of the year 1766. In the mean time, there had been a change of ministry, Mr. Grenville giving place to the Marquis of Rockingham. The petitions of the colonies were laid on the table, and left there unnoticed; but, as they had generally been published, their contents were well known, and the new ministry came to a resolution to advise a repeal of the act.

The subject was discussed with great warmth on both sides of the House. While the debates were in progress, Dr. Franklin was called before Parliament, to be examined respecting the state of affairs in America. This motion probably originated with the ministers, who were now striving for a repeal of the act, and was seconded by Dr. Franklin's friends, who had

confidence in the result; but he was questioned in the presence of a full House by various individuals of both parties, including the late ministers; and his answers were given without premeditation, and without knowing beforehand the nature or form of the question that was to be put. The dignity of his bearing, his self-possession, the promptness and propriety with which he replied to each interrogatory, the profound knowledge he displayed upon every topic presented to him, his perfect acquaintance with the political condition and internal affairs of his country, the fearlessness with which he defended the late doings of his countrymen, and censured the measures of Parliament, his pointed expressions and characteristic manner; all these combined to rivet the attention, and excite the astonishment, of his audience. And, indeed, there is no event in this great man's life, more creditable to his talents and character, or more honorable to his fame, than this examination before the British Parliament. It is an enduring monument of his wisdom, firmness, sagacity, and patriotism.

When he was asked, whether the Americans would pay the stamp duty if it were moderated, he answered; "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms." Again, when it was inquired how the Americans would receive another tax, imposed upon the same principles, he said, "Just as they do this; they will never pay it." And again, he was asked whether the Americans would rescind their resolutions, if the Stamp Act were repealed. To this he replied; "No, never; they will never do it unless compelled by force of arms." He was also questioned, as to the non-importation agreements, and asked whether the Americans would not soon become tired of them, and fall back to purchasing British manufactures as before.

He said he did not believe they would; that he knew his countrymen; that they had materials, and industry to work them up; that they could make their own clothes, and would make them; that they loved liberty, and would maintain their rights. The examination was closed with the two following questions and answers. "What used to be the pride of the Americans?" He answered; "To indulge in the fashions and manufactures of Great Britain." "What is now their pride?" Answer; "To wear their old clothes over again till they can make new ones."

After much stormy debate in Parliament, the Stamp Act was repealed; but, as if unwilling to do their work thoroughly, or fearing that they should concede too much, they accompanied the repeal with a declaration, which never ceased to rankle in the hearts of the colonists. They passed what was called a *Declaratory Act*, in which it was affirmed, that "Parliament had a right to bind the colonies *in all cases whatsoever*." It was said at the time, that the partisans of the ministers were driven to this act by the indiscreet warmth of Mr. Pitt, who openly denied the right of Parliament to tax the colonies in any manner, and said, in the course of his speech, "*I am glad America has resisted.*" Such a doctrine as this, from so high a source, was not to be tolerated; and, to make amends for its having been uttered in Parliament, the members opposed to him hit upon the device of declaring solemnly, that they had a right, not only to tax, but to do what else they pleased. Lord Mansfield, who was against the repeal of the Stamp Act, said in the House of Lords, that this declaration amounted to nothing, and that it was a poor contrivance to save the dignity of Parliament.

But, whatever may have been the origin or design

of the Declaratory Act, it was looked upon as a sober reality and with great concern by the colonists. If Parliament could *declare*, it was natural to suppose, that, when occasion offered, they would *act* accordingly; and taxing was one of the least evils they might inflict, if they chose to exercise their assumed sovereign power. What should prevent them from putting an end to the very existence of the colonial governments, and annihilating every right they possessed? According to this doctrine, not only the property, but the liberty, and even the life, of every American were held at the will of Parliament; a body always agitated by party strifes, moving at the beck of a minister, and irresponsible to any power for the tyranny it might exercise over distant colonists, who had no representatives in Parliament to defend their cause or vindicate their rights.

It is no wonder, that such a doctrine, maintained with great unanimity by the British lawgivers, should excite the astonishment and indignation of the Americans. The result proved, that their fears were not groundless; for they were soon taught to understand and to feel, that the Declaratory Act was meant to be more than a form of words, or a mere expression of opinion.

The joy diffused by the repeal of the Stamp Act, however, quieted for a time all uneasiness. No one, who reads Dr. Franklin's *Examination*, as it was afterwards published, can doubt, that he performed a very important and effective part in promoting this measure. The facts he communicated, drawn from his long experience and knowledge of American affairs, and the sentiments he expressed concerning the designs and character of his countrymen, were many of them new to his hearers, and were conveyed in

language so clear and forcible, as to make a deep impression. Moreover, his personal endeavours with men in power and men of influence, wherever he met them, were unremitted. His services were well known and properly valued in London, by those who sought to bring about the repeal. Letters were written to his friends by gentlemen acquainted with the particulars, acknowledging and applauding these services; and when the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated by a public festivity at Philadelphia, his name was honored with unusual expressions of respect and gratitude.

Another subject engaged much of his attention for some time after his arrival in England. The late war had occasioned derangement in the American paper currency, and the British merchants had raised a clamor against it, which was sustained by a Report of the Board of Trade, written by Lord Hillsborough, recommending that any further emission of paper bills of credit in the colonies, as a legal tender, should be prohibited. Franklin answered this Report by a series of cogent arguments, interspersed with illustrative facts and remarks respecting the American paper money, and its effects on the trade and internal prosperity of the country. He had written a tract on this subject when he was twenty-three years old, in which he advanced some of the doctrines in political economy, that were afterwards more fully unfolded by Adam Smith, as essential elements of his theory.

The history of the colonial paper currency is curious and interesting. Before the Revolution there were no banks in the country, resembling the institutions since known by that name. Bills of credit, issued from time to time by the Assemblies, constituted the only paper medium in use for circulation. The gold

and silver coin found its way to England, as a remittance for British manufactures, and its place was supplied by these bills, which were sometimes necessary and always convenient. Indeed, when an emergency came, such as a French or an Indian war, there was no other way of raising large sums of money than by emissions of paper.

Various methods were adopted by the different colonies, but the one practised in Pennsylvania was considered the best. A certain amount of paper was emitted for a given time, say ten years, at the expiration of which it was all to be redeemed. The paper was put into circulation in the form of loans to individuals, secured by mortgages on land. One tenth of each loan was to be paid back annually by the borrower, with the interest at five per cent. Thus, at the end of the ten years, the whole had been returned to the loan offices and redeemed; the government having gained the interest during that time, and the community having received the benefit of the circulation. The paper was made a legal tender for the payment of debts, and it generally maintained its original value, with slight fluctuations caused by the rise of gold and silver, when a larger quantity of these metals than usual was wanted for exportation.

In some of the other colonies the paper was emitted merely on the credit of the government, certain taxes being pledged for redeeming it within a limited time. This security was not sufficient to gain the public confidence, although supported by the legal tender, and the bills fell in value. The evil was increased by forced emissions beyond the quantity required as a circulating medium, and also by the remissness of the Assemblies in collecting the taxes, or by their appropriating these taxes to other objects. In Virginia,

likewise, the value of the bills fluctuated according to the more or less abundant crops of tobacco, which was the chief commodity of trade in that province. At length the British merchants, finding it difficult to collect their American debts, ascribed the cause to the depreciation of the local currency, and used their influence with the ministers to procure an act of Parliament restraining emissions, with a legal tender, in all the colonies. They carried their point, and such an act was passed.

The restraint was considered onerous and inequitable in Pennsylvania, where the paper money had always been so managed as to keep its value nearly at par, and the Assembly petitioned Parliament for a repeal of the act. Dr. Franklin presented the petition, and, having brought over the merchants to join with him in the application, he urged it so effectively, that the ministers agreed to favor the measure.

He found it necessary, however, first to dispossess them of a notion, which they had taken up, and which he looked upon as threatening more mischief to the colonies, than the prohibition of the legal tender. They were meditating a project for drawing a revenue from the colonial paper money, by retaining the interest derived from it to be appropriated by Parliament. He assured them, that no colony would emit money on such terms, and advanced other reasons against the plan, which seemed to convince them, that it was impolitic if not impracticable. But when Parliament assembled, the subject was introduced in a new and still more objectionable form. The chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Townshend, after he had proposed an American revenue by duties on glass, paper, tea, and some other articles, said he had another proposition to offer, and that a bill would be

prepared for the purpose. By his scheme all the paper money for the colonies was to be made by the British government in London, sent over to America, deposited in loan-offices there, and then issued on interest precisely according to the Pennsylvania method. The whole amount of the interest was to be paid into the British treasury.

In its principles this scheme was exactly the same as the Stamp Act. It aimed to impose a direct tax on the colonies by a law of Parliament, and also to take away from the Assemblies all power over their currency. Foreseeing the consequences, and wishing to remove every ground for such a proceeding on the score of complaints from the colonies, Dr. Franklin thought it prudent not to press the petition any further at that time.

Shortly afterwards he wrote; "I am not for applying here again very soon for a repeal of the restraining act. I am afraid an ill use will be made of it. The plan of our adversaries is, to render Assemblies in America useless, and to have a revenue, independent of their grants, for all the purposes of their defence and supporting governments among them. It is our interest to prevent this. And, that they may not lay hold of our necessities for paper money, to draw a revenue from that article whenever they grant us the liberty we want, of making it a legal tender, I wish some other method may be fallen upon of supporting its credit." He therefore recommended the experiment of paper money not a legal tender, which had been already begun by the Pennsylvanians upon a small scale; and he also intimated, that a bank might be established, which would answer the desired purpose. This latter plan, however, was never resorted to, either by Pennsylvania or any other province.

Mr. Townshend's project was dropped. If the new duties had been submitted to, the tax on paper money would probably have followed.

In the summer of 1766, Dr. Franklin went over to Germany, accompanied by Sir John Pringle, who spent some time at Pyrmont for the benefit of the waters. Franklin made a more extended journey; but little is known of it, except that he visited Göttingen, Hanover, and some of the principal cities and universities on the continent, and returned to London after an absence of eight weeks. During this tour he learned from the boatmen in Holland, that boats propelled by an equal force move more slowly in shoal than in deep water. He afterwards performed a variety of experiments to prove and illustrate this fact, which he considered important in the construction of canals. The results of these experiments, with an explanation of them on philosophical principles, he communicated in a letter to Sir John Pringle.

The main business of his mission to England, which was to prosecute the petition for a change of the government in Pennsylvania, received his early and continued attention. The ministers listened to the application so far, as to raise encouraging hopes of its ultimate success. As the change, desired by the Pennsylvanians, was such as to enlarge the authority of the crown in that province, there was no reluctance on the part of the administration to agree to an arrangement, whenever it could be done consistently with the proprietary claims. It was proposed, that the government should purchase of the Proprietaries their right of jurisdiction, leaving them in possession of the lands and other property belonging to them in the province. The affair was discussed from time to time; but the increasing disorders in the colonies, and

the resistance to acts of Parliament, in which the Pennsylvanians joined as heartily as any of their neighbours, prevented its being brought to an issue till the war broke out. If quiet had been restored, by establishing the relations between the two countries on the old footing, as they stood before the Stamp Act, which was demanded by the colonists, the change would doubtless have been effected.

Recent events led to the investigation of a subject, which had hitherto been little considered, because no occasion had arisen for calling it into notice. An inquiry began to be made, on both sides of the Atlantic, into the principles by which the people of the two countries were bound together, and the reciprocal duties involved in this union. Franklin devoted his thoughts with great earnestness to this inquiry, and, after a full examination, expressed his sentiments decidedly and without reserve. The first settlers came to America by permission of the King; certain rights and privileges were granted to them by royal charters; they were allowed to have Assemblies of their own, and to pass laws not repugnant to the laws of England; these laws might be confirmed or annulled by the King; suits arising in the colonies, whenever transferred to the mother country, were decided by the King in Council. Parliament had never been consulted in making the charters, nor had any authority been reserved to that body over them, in regard to the terms upon which they were conferred; and, indeed, Parliament had taken no notice of the colonies, till a long time after their settlement. Besides, the emigrants did not remove to a conquered country; they purchased the soil of the natives with their own means; nor did they ever put the British government to the expense of a farthing, either for their removal or their establishment in an unexplored wilderness.

The power over commerce was naturally lodged in Parliament, because the laws regulating commerce necessarily extended to the whole empire; and for this reason the colonists had yielded obedience to the commercial restrictions, although they had sometimes been oppressive. But the internal affairs of the colonies were under the control of the laws passed by the Assemblies, subject only to the King's negative; and, whenever Parliament had meddled with these affairs, it was a usurpation, exercised contrary to justice and to early usage. He considered the mother country and colonies to be connected as England and Scotland were before the union, each having its Assembly, or Parliament, under the King as a common sovereign. "The British empire," said he, "is not a single state; it comprehends many; and, though the Parliament of Great Britain has arrogated to itself the power of taxing the colonies, it has no more right to do so, than it has to tax Hanover. We have the same King, but not the same legislatures."

These doctrines he sustained by arguments drawn from history, and from well established principles in the British and colonial constitutions. He communicated them freely to his friends in both countries. Governor Hutchinson complains, that they produced an influence in Massachusetts unfavorable to the ministerial schemes; that "he corresponded with the principal advocates of the controversy with Parliament in Boston, from the first stir about the Stamp Act, and they professed, in all the important parts of it, to govern themselves by his advice." This is doubtless true; and they had no reason to regret, that they followed such advice, or were guided by such a counsellor.

Another topic, nearly allied to this, occupied public attention at the same time. It became a question,

whether all difficulties might not be adjusted, and a permanent union be established between the two countries, by admitting representatives in Parliament from the colonies. Politicians invented theories and suggested plans. Dr. Franklin thought that such a representation, on fair and equal terms, afforded the only basis of a union, which could be expected to endure. But the proposal must first come from England; he was persuaded this would never be done, and he hoped little from the project. "The time has been," said he, in a letter to Lord Kames, "when the colonies might have been pleased with it; they are now *indifferent* about it; and, if it is much longer delayed, they too will *refuse* it. But the pride of this people cannot bear the thought of it, and therefore it will be delayed. Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our subjects in the colonies.* The Parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, abilities, temper, &c. This it cannot be without representatives from thence; and yet it is fond of this power, and averse to the only means of acquiring the necessary knowledge for exercising it; which is desiring to be *omnipotent,* without being *omniscient.*"

The same letter, written only a year after the repeal of the Stamp Act, contains the following remarkable passage, which would seem almost to have been penned in the spirit of prophecy. "America, an immense territory, favored by nature with all advantages of climate, soils, great navigable rivers, and lakes, must become a great country, populous and mighty; and will, in a less time than is generally conceived, be

able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed upon her, and perhaps place them on the imposers. In the mean time, every act of oppression will sour their tempers, lessen greatly, if not annihilate, the profits of your commerce with them, and hasten their final revolt; for the seeds of liberty are universally found there, and nothing can eradicate them. And yet there remains among that people so much respect, veneration, and affection for Britain, that, if cultivated prudently, with a kind usage and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force or any considerable expense. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom, that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it."*

The temporary tranquillity in the colonies, which followed the repeal of the Stamp Act, afforded Dr. Franklin a respite from the public duties in which he was constantly engaged before that event, and again afterwards when the controversy was revived. A portion of this period he devoted to travelling. In September, 1767, he visited Paris, accompanied, as he had been the year preceding in Germany, by his "steady, good friend, Sir John Pringle." The French ambassador in London, who had been particularly civil to him of late, gave him letters of introduction to several eminent persons. His papers on electricity had long before been translated and published in Paris, and his philosophical discoveries were probably better known and more highly estimated there, than in any other part of Europe. The reception he met with was in all respects gratifying to him. He was intro-

* The letter, from which these extracts are taken, was not received by Lord Kames. A copy of it was sent to him by Dr. Franklin two

duced to the King and royal family, and formed an acquaintance with the distinguished men in the scientific and political circles. These advantages, and the knowledge he gained by his observations and inquiries in France, were not only serviceable to him at the time, but they prepared the way for the successful execution of the important trust, which he was destined to hold in that country at a later period, as minister plenipotentiary from the American States.

Scarcely had he returned to London, when the news arrived of commotions in Boston, occasioned by Mr. Townshend's revenue act, and by the laws for establishing commissioners of the customs in America, and making the salaries of governors, judges, and other officers, dependent on the crown. These acts of Parliament the Bostonians regarded as a continuation of the same oppressive system, which had commenced with the Stamp Act, and which it had been fondly hoped would cease with its repeal. Disappointed and indignant, they assembled in town meeting, and passed a series of spirited resolutions, recommending that all prudent and lawful measures should be taken for the encouragement of industry, economy, and domestic manufactures. A paper was drawn up, and circulated among the inhabitants for their signature, by which they engaged to promote the use and consumption of American manufactures, and, after a stated time, not to purchase certain enumerated articles, which had been imported from abroad.

These proceedings gave great offence to the ministerial party in England, and some uneasiness to the friends of the colonies. The former represented them

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years after its date. Mr. Tytler supposes the original was intercepted, and that it fell into the hands of the ministers. — *Life of Lord Kames*, Vol. II. 2nd ed., p. 112.

as intentionally disrespectful to Parliament, and little short of rebellion; and the latter thought them ill timed and injudicious. They were generally condemned by all parties. To calm the excitement, and to draw public attention to the true grounds of the controversy, Dr. Franklin wrote a paper, entitled *Causes of the American Discontents before* 1768. This was published in the London *Chronicle*. But the editor took great liberties with the manuscript, omitting and altering to suit his humor. "He has drawn the teeth and pared the nails of my paper," said Franklin, "so that it can neither scratch nor bite; it seems only to paw and mumble."

It was, nevertheless, extremely well adapted to the occasion, being written with the author's peculiar felicity of style, and in a tone of moderation and fairness, which could not fail to win the favorable opinion even of those, who were resolved not to be convinced. The causes of all the late troubles in the colonies are traced from their origin, and stated with so much clearness and method, as to place the subject in its full force before the reader's mind. The Boston resolutions are not directly brought into view; yet the complaints of the colonists and the reasons for those complaints are so explained, as to make it evident, that the conduct of the Bostonians was a natural consequence of the aggressions of the British government, and such as ought to have been expected from a people jealous of their rights, and nurtured in the atmosphere of freedom. The example of Boston was speedily followed by the whole continent.

About this time, also, Dr. Franklin published his excellent pieces against *Smuggling*, and on the *Laboring Poor*, designed to correct practical abuses and errors of opinion then prevalent in England.

At the beginning of the year 1768, there was a change in the ministry. The American business had been in the charge of Lord Shelburne, but it was now transferred to Lord Hillsborough, as secretary of State for America, this being made a distinct department. He was likewise placed at the head of the Board of Trade. In these stations he had so large a control over the affairs of the colonies, that almost every thing depended on his dispositions towards them. He was accounted a man of integrity and honest purposes, but too fond of his own opinions, and obstinate in carrying out his schemes. It was not known that he had any special hostility to the colonies, yet the American agents regarded his appointment as by no means auspicious to the interests of their countrymen. His general character gave a countenance to this apprehension, and his conduct in his office proved it not to be groundless.

At first, however, he was courteous to the American agents, and seemed to listen to their representations with some degree of favor. To Dr. Franklin, in particular, he showed much civility, conversed with him often on American affairs, and professed to have great respect for his opinions. This circumstance, probably, gave rise to the report, that some office was to be offered to him in his Lordship's department. Alluding to this subject, Franklin writes; "I am told there has been a talk of getting me appointed undersecretary to Lord Hillsborough; but with little likelihood, as it is a settled point here, that I am too much an American." An indirect overture was made to him, nevertheless, at the instance of the Duke of Grafton, by which it would appear, that there was a project for taking away from him the place of postmaster-

general of the colonies, and appointing him to some office under the government.

After speaking of this overture, in a letter to his son, he adds; "So great is my inclination to be at home and at rest, that I shall not be sorry, if this business falls through, and I am suffered to retire with my old post; nor, indeed, very sorry, if they take that from me too, on account of my zeal for America, in which some of my friends have hinted to me, that I have been too open. If Mr. Grenville comes into power again, in any department respecting America, I must refuse to accept any thing that may seem to put me in his power, because I apprehend a breach between the two countries; and that refusal might give offence." And he says further; "I am grown so old, as to feel much less than formerly the spur of ambition; and, if it were not for the flattering expectation, that, by being fixed here, I might more effectually serve my country, I should certainly determine for retirement, without a moment's hesitation." This is all that is known of the negotiation. There is no evidence that any office was directly proposed to him. The overture itself evinces a desire on the part of the government to profit by his talents, influence, and knowledge of American affairs.

The scheme was probably laid aside for the reason he suggested. His well known sentiments in regard to the American controversy, and the boldness and constancy with which he had maintained them by his writings and otherwise, left no ground for hope, that he would either support or approve the measures, which it was resolved to pursue. For the same reason he could not accept an appointment, knowing as he did the designs of the ministers, and their determination to carry them out at all hazards.

The rumor, which could scarcely fail to arise from the above transactions, found its way to America, and was industriously circulated to his disadvantage by his political adversaries in Pennsylvania. He was accused of seeking office under the ministers, and of thus betraying the confidence reposed in him by his country. Such a charge needs no refutation. His writings, and the whole tenor of his conduct during his residence in England, are proof alike of its falsehood and of the malicious intent with which it was propagated.

The popular party in Pennsylvania, who sought a change of government, looked to him as the most suitable candidate for governor under the new system, if it should ever go into operation. When his sister hinted this to him in a letter, he replied; "There is no danger of such a thing being offered to me, and I am sure I shall never ask it. But, even if it were offered, I certainly could not accept it, to act under such instructions, as I know must be given with it. So you may be quite easy on that head." The appointment would of course be made by the King, and the instructions must have been in conformity with the doctrines then in vogue respecting colonial subordination, which Franklin had opposed from the time they were first promulgated. Some of the principal people in Massachusetts also wished him to become the successor of Sir Francis Bernard, as governor of that province, believing he would be acceptable to all parties, and be able to conciliate the unhappy differences, which Bernard had contrived to stir up and foment. But, even if there had been any serious attempt to place him in this office, the same objections existed as in the former case.

CHAPTER V.

Dr. Franklin is appointed Agent for Georgia. — Causes the "Farmer's Letters" to be republished in London. — His Opinion of them. — Chosen President of the American Philosophical Society. — Promotes the Culture of Silk in Pennsylvania. — Encourages his Countrymen to adhere to their Non-importation Agreements. — Journey to France. — Appointed Agent for New Jersey. — His Answers to Mr. Strahan's Queries. — Repeal of some of the American Revenue Acts. — Intimations that he would be removed from Office. — His Remarks on that Subject. — Chosen Agent for the Assembly of Massachusetts. — Singular Interview with Lord Hillsborough. — Objectionable Footing on which the Colonial Agents were placed by his Lordship. — Dr. Franklin makes a Tour through the North of England, Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. — His Reception by Lord Hillsborough in Ireland. — Irish Parliament. — Richard Bache. — Bishop of St. Asaph.

DURING the year 1768, Dr. Franklin was on the point of returning to America. In the present agitated condition of public affairs with respect to the colonies, he despaired of drawing the attention of the British rulers to the principal purpose of his mission, a change of government in Pennsylvania, although the Assembly had renewed their application every year with increased urgency, and the last time by a vote of every member except one. His private concerns, he said, required his presence at home, and the general business of the province could be transacted by his associate, Mr. Jackson, who resided in London.

At this juncture he received intelligence, in a letter from Governor Wright, of his having been appointed agent for Georgia. He then felt it his duty to wait for the papers and instructions of the Georgia Assembly, which would probably demand his special care. The appointment had been made without any previous intimation, and therefore he was under no obligation to accept it; yet he was unwilling to de-

cline a trust, which had been spontaneously conferred upon him by so respectable a portion of his countrymen, and which he might possibly execute for their benefit. This kept him till winter; other business followed, and he found himself detained in England much longer than he had anticipated.*

Having read, with approbation and pleasure, the celebrated "Farmer's Letters," written by John Dickinson, he caused them to be republished in London, with a commendatory Preface from his own pen. Besides the patriotic motive for this publication, it afforded him an opportunity of showing, that the extreme warmth, with which Mr. Dickinson had opposed his appointment in the Pennsylvania Assembly, had not produced on his part any diminution of friendship or personal regard. This was still further manifested by their harmonious intercourse after he returned again to his own country.

The *Farmer's Letters* were written against the late revenue acts. The depth of research, force of argument, and perspicuity of style, which appeared in these letters, made them popular with all classes of readers in America. Franklin had a high opinion of their general merits, but he thought there was one important point, which was not well established nor clearly explained. The Farmer acknowledged the power of Parliament to regulate the trade of the colonies, yet he denied the right of laying certain duties, which

* Whilst the King of Denmark was on a visit to London, he sought the acquaintance of Dr. Franklin, who was one of the sixteen invited guests at a dinner, when the King dined in public, on the 1st of October, 1768. The company consisted mostly of foreign ambassadors and officers of distinction. The other English gentlemen, who were present besides Dr. Franklin, were Lord Moreton, Admiral Rodney, General Hervey, Mr. Dunning, and Dr. Maty.

would seem to be included in the power of regulation. If Parliament was to be the judge, this distinction amounted to little. Every state in Europe claimed and exercised the right of laying duties on its exports. In Franklin's opinion the grievance was not, that Britain imposed duties on exported commodities, but that she prohibited the colonists from purchasing the like commodities in the markets of other countries, thus forcing them to pay such prices as she pleased, and depriving them of the advantages of a competition in trade. It was true, that Parliament had exercised this power, and compelled obedience, under the vague pretence of regulating trade; but it had been done in violation of the principles upon which the relations between Great Britain and the colonies had originally been established.

As early as the year 1743, when Franklin was much engaged in philosophical studies, he projected a society, which was to include the principal men in America, who were fond of such pursuits, and who would thus be enabled to combine their efforts for the promotion of science. The plan met with favor, and an association was formed. The original members, besides Franklin, were Thomas Hopkinson, John Bartram the botanist, Thomas Godfrey the mathematician, Dr. Thomas Bond, Dr. Phineas Bond, William Parsons, Samuel Rhoads, and William Coleman, of Philadelphia; Chief Justice Morris, Mr. Home, John Coxe, and Mr. Martyn, of New Jersey; Cadwallader Colden and William Alexander, of New York. Other members were soon added, whose names are not known. Hopkinson was president, and Franklin secretary.

This association proceeded with some degree of vigor at first, but it gradually declined. It was re-

vived at a later day, and, in January, 1769, it was united with another society, which had been formed in Philadelphia for similar objects. The institution, which grew out of this union, took the name of the *American Philosophical Society.* Franklin was chosen president, and the same honor was annually conferred upon him to the end of his life, although he was much the larger part of the time absent from the country. He contributed several valuable papers to the second volume of the Society's Transactions.*

All his philosophical inquiries, and, indeed, all the studies to which he applied his mind, whether in science, politics, morals, or the economy of life, were directed to some useful end, either for the improvement of mankind, or the increase of human comfort. With this aim he endeavoured to promote the culture of silk in America, believing the soil and climate extremely well adapted to it, and that it might be carried to a great extent without interfering with any other branch of industry. He spared no pains to collect in Europe such information, as would enable the cultivators to prosecute the undertaking with success, as

* See APPENDIX, No IV.

Dr. Franklin was a member of nearly all the principal scientific and literary societies in America and Europe. By the diplomas and other evidences among his papers, it appears, that he was one of the earliest members of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston; a member of the Royal Societies of London and Göttingen; of the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, to which place he was nominated by the King. Eight foreign members only belonged to the Society at that time. He was chosen in 1772, and succeeded the celebrated Van Swieten of Vienna. He was likewise a member of the Philosophical Societies of Rotterdam, Edinburgh, and Manchester; the Academy of Sciences, Belles Lettres, and Arts at Lyons; the Academy of Sciences and Arts at Padua; the Royal Academy of History in Madrid; the Patriotic Society of Milan; the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburgh; the Medical Society of London; the Royal Medical Society of Paris; and others, of which an exact list has not been obtained.

well in regard to the planting of mulberry trees, as to the rearing of silkworms, and reeling the silk from the cocoons. The particulars were communicated, from time to time, to Dr. Cadwallader Evans, of Philadelphia, who, with some other gentlemen, was zealously engaged in the enterprise. A company was formed for the cultivation of silk, and public-spirited individuals contributed money to aid in prosecuting the work.

In one of his letters on this subject, Dr. Franklin says; "There is no doubt with me but that it might succeed in our country. It is the happiest of all inventions for clothing. Wool uses a good deal of land to produce it, which, if employed in raising corn, would afford much more subsistence for man, than the mutton amounts to. Flax and hemp require good land, impoverish it, and at the same time permit it to produce no food at all. But mulberry trees may be planted in hedgerows on walks or avenues, or for shade near a house, where nothing else is wanted to grow. The food for the worms, which produce the silk, is in the air, and the ground under the trees may still produce grass, or some other vegetable good for man or beast. Then the wear of silken garments continues so much longer, from the strength of the materials, as to give it greatly the preference. Hence it is, that the most populous of all countries, China, clothes its inhabitants with silk, while it feeds them plentifully, and has besides a vast quantity, both raw and manufactured, to spare for exportation." And again; "I hope our people will not be disheartened by a few accidents, and such disappointments as are incident to all new undertakings, but persevere bravely in the silk business, till they have conquered all difficulties. By diligence and patience the mouse ate in twain the cable. It is

not two centuries since it was as much a novelty in France, as it is now with us in North America, and the people as much unacquainted with it." The difficulties have not yet been conquered; but so much progress has been made as to render it certain, that these anticipations will finally be realized. *

The Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's having requested the opinion of the Royal Society in regard to the best method of protecting the cathedral from lightning, Dr. Franklin was one of the committee appointed to investigate the subject. The other members were Mr. Canton, Dr. Watson, Mr. Delaval, and Mr. Wilson. On the 8th of June they made a report, which was approved by the Society, and the method recommended by them for putting up electrical conductors was accordingly followed.

Dr. Franklin did not cease, in writing to his friends in America, to urge upon them a strict adherence to the resolutions, which had been universally adopted, not to import or use British goods. The more he reflected on what was passing before him, the more he was convinced, that the British government would not relax from the measures, so much and so justly complained of by the colonists, which, it was now said, even if they had originated in ignorance and a false policy, must be continued for the honor and dignity of Parliament. The supremacy of the national

* The operations of Dr. Evans and his associates were continued, till the Revolution put a stop to all enterprises of this sort. A quantity of raw silk, produced by them, was sent over to England in 1772, which Dr. Franklin sold at a good price, and obtained a bounty on it from the British government. Some of the Company's silk was likewise manufactured in Pennsylvania. In his paper concerning a new settlement proposed to be made on the Ohio River, Dr. Franklin says; "Above ten thousand weight of cocoons was, in August, 1771, sold at the public filature in Philadelphia."

complete to posterity." This advice he often repeated; and, although he was too far distant to partake of the feeling kindled by sympathy throughout the colonies, yet his sentiments accorded perfectly with those of his countrymen.

A few days after writing the letter, quoted above, he went over to France, and passed several weeks at Paris. He has left no account of the journey, or of the business that called him abroad.

His son being governor of New Jersey, an opportunity had thus been afforded to Dr. Franklin for rendering occasional services to that colony; and, on the 8th of December, 1769, he was chosen, by a unanimous vote of the Assembly, to be the agent for transacting their affairs in England. A letter of instructions accompanied the notice of his appointment. He was requested to procure the royal signature to certain laws, which had been passed by the Assembly, and, among others, an act for emitting one hundred thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be lent at five per cent, but not a legal tender. There had been a controversy long pending between East and West Jersey respecting a boundary line, which it had now become more necessary than ever to have settled, and which was intrusted to his management.

Just before the meeting of Parliament, Mr. Strahan addressed to Dr. Franklin certain *Queries*, designed to draw out from him an opinion as to the effect, which a partial repeal of the revenue acts would have on the minds of the Americans; the repealing act being so framed as to preserve the dignity and supremacy of the British legislature. The queries were promptly and explicitly answered.

In regard to the supremacy of Parliament, so much talked of, Dr. Franklin said the best way of preserv-

ing it was, to make a very sparing use of it, and never to use it at all to the prejudice of one part of the empire for the advantage of another part. By such a prudent course he imagined the supremacy might be established, but otherwise it would be disputed and lost. The colonies had submitted to it in regulations of commerce; but this was voluntary, as they were not bound to yield obedience to acts of Parliament by their original constitution. An assumed authority might safely be exercised when it aimed only to do good and render equal justice to all; but, if it erred in this respect, its dignity might be impaired, and the most likely method of restoring it would be to correct the error as soon as an opportunity offered. And thus the British legislature might easily keep its dignity from harm, in relation to the colonies, by repealing the revenue acts intended to operate against them.

To Mr. Strahan's inquiry, whether the Americans would be satisfied with a partial repeal, he replied in the negative. He said it was not the amount to be paid in duties that they complained of, but the duties themselves and the reasons assigned for laying them, namely, that the revenue might be appropriated for the support of government and the administration of justice in the colonies. This was encroaching upon their rights, and interfering with the power of their Assemblies. In fact, if this principle were allowed, it might be so extended as to reduce the Assemblies to a nullity, and thus subject the people to a servile dependence on the will and pleasure of Parliament, without having any voice in making the laws they were to obey. Till the principle itself should be abandoned, therefore, he was persuaded there would be no chance of a reconciliation.

Other questions were asked, which he answered in

the same spirit, giving it as his unqualified opinion, that the people would not be quieted by any thing short of a total repeal of all the acts for collecting a revenue from them without their consent. If this were done, and they were restored to the situation they were in before the Stamp Act, he believed their discontents would subside, that they would dissolve their agreements not to import goods, and that commerce, returning again into its old channels, would revive and flourish. He added, however, that he saw no prospect of any such salutary measures, either in the wisdom of ministers, or in the temper of the British legislature.

When Parliament assembled, the subject was brought forward; and in April, 1770, after an experiment of three years, the British ministry finding the Americans still obstinate in refusing to import goods, and trade declining, procured a repeal of the duties on all the commodities enumerated in the revenue act, except tea. This was done with a view to commercial policy, and not with any regard to the rights of the colonists, or the least pretence that it was meant to remove the cause of their complaints. On the contrary, the insignificant tea duty was retained for the express purpose of upholding the sovereignity of Parliament. The consequence was, that it rather increased than allayed the popular ferment in America; for it implied, that they estimated their grievances by the amount of money demanded of them, and not by the principle upon which this demand was made. They renewed their non-importation agreements with more zeal than ever.

The freedom with which Dr. Franklin wrote to his correspondents in America, and the sentiments he repeatedly uttered respecting the disputes between the

two countries, gave offence to the British government. Copies of some of his letters were clandestinely obtained and forwarded to the ministers. Intimations were thrown out, that he would be made to feel their resentment, by being removed from his place in the American postoffice. As he had never been charged with neglect in this station, but, on the contrary, by long and unwearied exertions, had raised the post-office from a low condition to a state of prosperity and productiveness, a removal could only be intended as a punishment for his political conduct and opinions, or rather for his perseverance in defending what he believed to be the true interests and just claims of his country. He was determined, therefore, not to give up the office, till it should be taken from him, although he was plentifully abused in the newspapers to provoke him to a resignation. A retreat, under such circumstances, did not comport with his ideas either of self-respect or of consistency. Abuse from adversaries, the displeasure of ministers, and the loss of his office, were not to be coveted; but they could be borne, and they would never drive him to sacrifice his principles, or to desert a cause, which he had embraced from a conviction of its justice and a sense of duty.

"As to the letters complained of," said he, "it was true I did write them, and they were written in compliance with another duty, that to my country; a duty quite distinct from that of postmaster. My conduct in this respect was exactly similar to that I held on a similar occasion but a few years ago, when the then ministry were ready to hug me for the assistance I afforded them in repealing a former revenue act. My sentiments were still the same, that no such acts should be made here for America; or, if made, should as soon

as possible be repealed; and I thought it should not be expected of me to change my political opinions every time his Majesty thought fit to change his ministers. This was my language on the occasion; and I have lately heard, that, though I was thought much to blame, it being understood, that every man who holds an office should act with the ministry, whether agreeable or not to his own judgment, yet, in consideration of the goodness of my private character (as they were pleased to compliment me), the office was not to be taken from me. Possibly they may still change their minds, and remove me; but no apprehension of that sort will, I trust, make the least alteration in my political conduct. My rule, in which I have always found satisfaction, is, never to turn aside in public affairs through views of private interest; but to go straight forward in doing what appears to me right at the time, leaving the consequences with Providence."

The person most active on this occasion was Lord Hillsborough, who had taken umbrage at Dr. Franklin's conduct of late, finding him in the way of all his schemes for humbling the Americans and forcing upon them his official mandates. How far the other ministers participated in his feelings of hostility is uncertain, but Franklin was permitted for some time longer to retain his office.

For many years he had corresponded on political affairs with gentlemen in Massachusetts, who had been much influenced by his opinions and advice. Some of his best letters were written to the Reverend Dr. Samuel Cooper, a man of strong abilities, skilful with his pen, extremely well informed on all the public transactions of the time, and a zealous defender of the rights and privileges of the colonists. Dr. Franklin

confided in his discretion and good sense, and opened his mind to him freely, receiving in return accurate intelligence of what was doing in America, with sound and judicious observations on the state of the country, and the impressions produced on the minds of the people by the policy and acts of the British government. The correspondence was shown, from time to time, to the prominent men in Massachusetts, who thus became acquainted with Dr. Franklin's private sentiments, as well as with his labors in promoting the cause of his country, both of which met with their entire approbation. It was natural, therefore, that they should wish to secure his services for the province, and more especially as he was a native of Boston, and had always manifested a warm attachment to the place of his birth. He was accordingly chosen by the Assembly to be their agent, as expressed in the resolve, "to appear for the House at the court of Great Britain," and to sustain their interests, "before his Majesty in Council, or in either House of Parliament, or before any public board." The appointment was made on the 24th of October, 1770, and was to continue for one year; but it was annually renewed whilst he remained abroad.

Mr. Cushing, the Speaker of the Assembly, transmitted to him a certificate of his election, and other papers, setting forth in detail the grievances of which the people complained, and instructing the agent to use his best efforts to have them redressed.

The first step he took, after receiving these papers, was to wait on Lord Hillsborough, the American Secretary, both to announce his appointment officially, and to explain the purport of his instructions. The interview was a very singular one. Franklin had but just time to mention Massachusetts, and to add, that the

Assembly had chosen him to be their agent, when his Lordship hastily interrupted him by saying, "I must set you right there, Mr. Franklin; you are not agent." To which the latter replied, "I do not understand your Lordship. I have the appointment in my pocket." The minister still insisted, that it was a mistake; he had later advices, and Governor Hutchinson would not give his assent to the bill. "There was no *bill*, my Lord," said Franklin, "it was by a vote of the House." Whereupon his Lordship called his secretary, and asked for Governor Hutchinson's letter; but it turned out that the letter related wholly to another matter, and there was not a word in it about the agent. "I thought it could not well be," said Franklin, "as my letters are by the last ships, and they mention no such thing. Here is the authentic copy of the vote of the House appointing me, in which there is no mention of any *act* intended. Will your Lordship please to look at it?" But this his Lordship was not pleased to do. He took the paper with apparent unwillingness, and, without opening or paying the least regard to it, he declaimed in an angry tone against the practice of appointing agents by a vote of the Assemblies, and declared, that no agent should for the future be attended to, except such as had been appointed by a regular act of the Assembly, approved by the Governor.

Franklin expostulated with his Lordship on this head; he could not conceive that the consent of the Governor was necessary; the agent was to transact the business of the people, and not that of the Governor; the people had a right, by their representatives, to appoint and instruct such agents as they thought proper to manage their own affairs; they had always

done so, and the thing was as reasonable in itself as it had been common in practice.

The minister was not in a humor to be reasoned with. He would not even read the certificate of Dr. Franklin's appointment, nor any of the papers, but handed them back unopened. Franklin had kept himself cool during the altercation, yet he could not brook this effrontery, especially as it was not more a breach of good manners, than an insult to the Assembly of Massachusetts; and he bluntly told his Lordship, that he believed it was of little consequence whether the appointment was acknowledged or not, for it was clear to his mind, that, as affairs were now administered, an agent could be of no use to any of the colonies.

The doctrine, here broached by Lord Hillsborough, was both novel and dangerous. If carried out, it would deprive the people of the only method, by which they could hold communication with the King, or any other branch of the government, except through the intervention of governors, who were often unfriendly to their interests, indeed, generally opposed to them, and might, by their negative, defeat any choice the Assemblies should make. It would, moreover, place them, in this respect, at the mercy of a minister, since he might easily instruct the governors not to approve the appointment of particular men, or men whose opinions were suspected of being too much tinctured with ideas favorable to the popular claims. And thus, in reality, the minister would nominate the agents, and such of them as were not subservient to his wishes would be sure to lose their places at the next election. Dr. Franklin declared, that he would not accept an agency under such an appointment, nor countenance in any way so arbitrary and mischievous a doctrine. Lord Hillsborough succeeded in procuring a

resolution of the Board of Trade not to allow an agent to appear before them, who had not been appointed according to his plan. It was never followed, however, by the Assemblies, and never could have been, without sacrificing one of their most valuable privileges. In the mean time, the business was prosecuted before the Board, whilst Lord Hillsborough continued at the head of it, though to a great disadvantage, by written applications and indirect influence with the members.

Having now in his charge the concerns of four colonies, Dr. Franklin's time was necessarily much occupied with them. Little being done by Parliament, however, relating to American affairs, in the year 1771, he had leisure for his annual excursions, which, from his confinement and close attention to business while in London, he found essential to his health. He made short journeys through different parts of England, stopping and passing some time at gentlemen's country-seats, to which he had been invited. He visited Dr. Priestley at Leeds, Dr. Percival at Manchester, and Dr. Darwin at Litchfield, and assisted them in performing some new philosophical experiments. With each of these gentlemen he corresponded for many years, chiefly on scientific subjects. Priestley's celebrated experiments on air, and discoveries in the economy of vegetation, were regularly communicated to him during their progress. When Dr. Priestley was in London, their intercourse was constant and intimate. They belonged to a club of "honest Whigs," as it was designated by Dr. Franklin, which held stated meetings, and of which Dr. Price and Dr. Kippis were also members.

After these little excursions, he made a tour through Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. He had never been in Ireland before. He was entertained, as he says,

"by both parties, the courtiers and the patriots; the latter treating him with particular respect." But the most remarkable occurrence, that happened to him there, was his meeting with Lord Hillsborough, who had retreated from the fatigues of public business for a few weeks to seek relaxation on his estates. The story is best told in his own words, as contained in a letter to Mr. Cushing.

"Being in Dublin at the same time with his Lordship, I met with him accidentally at the Lord Lieutenant's, who had happened to invite us to dine with a large company on the same day. As there was something curious in our interview, I must give you an account of it. He was surprisingly civil, and urged my fellow travellers and me to call at his house in our intended journey northward, where we might be sure of better accommodations than the inns would afford us. He pressed us so politely, that it was not easy to refuse without apparent rudeness, as we must pass through his town, Hillsborough, and by his door; and therefore, as it might afford an opportunity of saying something on American affairs, I concluded to comply with his invitation.

"His Lordship went home some time before we left Dublin. We called upon him, and were detained at his house four days, during which time he entertained us with great civility, and a particular attention to me, that appeared the more extraordinary, as I knew that just before we left London he had expressed himself concerning me in very angry terms, calling me a republican, a factious, mischievous fellow, and the like."

"He seemed attentive to every thing, that might make my stay in his house agreeable to me, and put his eldest son, Lord Killwarling, into his phaeton with me, to drive me a round of forty miles, that I might see

the country, the seats, and manufactures, covering me with his own greatcoat, lest I should take cold. In short, he seemed extremely solicitous to impress me, and the colonies through me, with a good opinion of him. All which I could not but wonder at, knowing that he likes neither them nor me; and I thought it inexplicable but on the supposition, that he apprehended an approaching storm, and was desirous of lessening beforehand the number of enemies he had so imprudently created. But, if he takes no steps towards withdrawing the troops, repealing the duties, restoring the Castle,* or recalling the offensive instructions, I shall think all the plausible behaviour I have described is meant only, by patting and stroking the horse, to make him more patient, while the reins are drawn tighter, and the spurs set deeper into his sides."

He stayed in Dublin till the opening of the Irish Parliament, for the purpose of seeing the principal patriots in that Assembly. "I found them," he says, "disposed to be friends of America, in which I endeavoured to confirm them, with the expectation that our growing weight might in time be thrown into their scale, and, by joining our interests with theirs, a more equitable treatment from this nation might be obtained for them as well as for us. There are many brave spirits among them. The gentry are a very sensible, polite, and friendly people. Their Parliament makes a most respectable figure, with a number of very good speakers in both parties, and able men of business. And ¶ must not omit acquainting you, that, it being a standing rule to admit members of the English Parliament to sit (though they do not vote) in the House

* Castle William, a fortification in Boston Harbour, which belonged to Massachusetts, but which was at this time occupied by British troops.

among the members, while others are only admitted into the gallery, my fellow traveller, being an English member, * was accordingly admitted as such. But I supposed I must go to the gallery, when the Speaker stood up, and acquainted the House, that he understood there was in town an American gentleman of (as he was pleased to say) distinguished character and merit, a member or delegate of some of the Parliaments of that country, who was desirous of being present at the debates of the House; that there was a rule of the House for admitting members of English Parliaments, and that he supposed the House would consider the American Assemblies as English Parliaments; but, as this was the first instance, he had chosen not to give any order in it without receiving their directions. On the question, the House gave a loud, unanimous *Ay;* when two members came to me without the bar, led me in between them, and placed me honorably and commodiously."

In Scotland he had many friends, who received him with a cordial welcome and an open-handed hospitality. He spent five days with Lord Kames at Blair Drummond, near Stirling, two or three days at Glasgow, and about three weeks at Edinburgh, where he lodged with David Hume. His old acquaintances, Sir Alexander Dick, Drs. Robertson, Cullen, Black, Ferguson, Russel, and others, renewed the civilities, which they had formerly shown to him, and which attached him so strongly to Scottish manners and society. His intimacy with Dr. Robertson had before enabled him to be the means of rendering a just tribute to the merit of some of his countrymen, by obtaining for them

* His friend, Mr. Jackson, who was a member of the British Parliament.

honorary degrees from the University of Edinburgh, over which that distinguished historian presided. Dr. Cooper, President Stiles, and Professor Winthrop of Harvard College, were among those upon whom this honor was conferred in consequence of his recommendation.

On his way back from Scotland, at Preston in Lancashire, he met his son-in-law, Mr. Richard Bache, who, with his consent, had married his only daughter four years before in Philadelphia. Mr. Bache had just come over from America, and was on a visit to his mother and sisters, who resided at Preston. He accompanied his father-in-law to London, and sailed thence for Philadelphia a few weeks afterwards. Dr. Franklin had never seen him before, but this short acquaintance seems to have made a favorable impression. In writing to his wife, he said he had been much pleased with what he had observed of his character and deportment, as also with the condition and good repute of his relations in England.

Some of Dr. Franklin's happiest days were passed in the family of Dr. Shipley, Bishop of St. Asaph, a man renowned for his virtues, his abilities, attainments, and steady adherence to the principles of political and civil liberty. He was one of the very small number on the bench of Bishops in the House of Lords, who opposed, from the beginning, the course pursued by the ministry in the American controversy. His writings on this subject were applauded by all parties as models of style and argument, and by the friends of liberty for their candor and independent spirit. In the course of this year, Franklin paid two visits to the "good Bishop," as he was accustomed to call him, at Twyford in Hampshire, the place of

the Bishop's summer residence; and, while there, he employed his leisure hours in writing the first part of his autobiography. His friendship for this amiable family continued without diminution through life, and was kept bright by an uninterrupted correspondence with the Bishop and his daughters, particularly Miss Georgiana Shipley, a young lady of distinguished accomplishments.

CHAPTER VI.

Dr. Franklin meditates a Return to America. — Singular Conduct of Lord Hillsborough. — Walpole's Grant. — Hillsborough's Report against it. — Franklin's Answer. — Reasons for settling a New Colony West of the Alleganies. — Interview with Lord Hillsborough at Oxford. — Franklin draws up the Report of a Committee appointed to examine the Powder Magazines at Purfleet. — Performs New Electrical Experiments. — Controversy about Pointed and Blunt Conductors. — Lord Dartmouth succeeds Lord Hillsborough. — His Character. — Franklin's Interview with him. — Petitions from the Assembly of Massachusetts. — Franklin writes a Preface to the London Edition of the Boston Resolutions; also "Rules for reducing a Great Empire to a Small One," and "An Edict of the King of Prussia." — Abridges the Book of Common Prayer. — Experiments to show the Effect of Oil in smoothing Waves. — Dubourg's Translation of his Writings.

At this time he again meditated a return to Pennsylvania. Impatient of the delays attending all kinds of American business, disgusted at the manner in which the American department was administered, and weary of fruitless solicitations, he was inclined to retire from a service, which seemed to promise as little benefit to his country as satisfaction to himself. Writing to his son in January, 1772, he said; "I have of late great debates with myself whether or not I shall continue here any longer. I grow homesick, and, being now in my sixty-seventh year, I begin to apprehend some infirmity of age may attack me, and make my return impracticable. I have, also, some important affairs to settle before my death, a period I ought now to think cannot be far distant. I see here no disposition in Parliament to meddle further in colony affairs for the present, either to lay more duties or to repeal any; and I think, though I were to return again, I may be absent from here a year without any prejudice to the business I am engaged in, though it is not probable,

that, being once at home, I should ever again see England. I have, indeed, so many good, kind friends here, that I could spend the remainder of my life among them with great pleasure, if it were not for my American connexions, and the indelible affection I retain for that dear country, from which I have so long been in a state of exile." Circumstances induced him, as on a former occasion, to suspend the execution of this design. His friends urged him to wait the result of the session of Parliament, letters and papers came from the American Assemblies requiring his attention, and at length, by the resignation of Lord Hillsborough, the agents were restored to the footing on which they had formerly stood.

The conduct of this minister was as inexplicable in some things, as it was arrogant and absurd in others. "When I had been a little while returned to London," says Dr. Franklin, "I waited on him to thank him for his civilities in Ireland, and to discourse with him on a Georgia affair. The porter told me he was not at home. I left my card, went another time, and received the same answer, though I knew he was at home, a friend of mine being with him. After intermissions of a week each, I made two more visits, and received the same answer. The last time was on a levee day, when a number of carriages were at his door. My coachman driving up, alighted, and was opening the coach door, when the porter, seeing me, came out, and surlily chid the coachman for opening the door before he had inquired whether my Lord was at home; and then, turning to me, said, 'My Lord is not at home.' I have never since been nigh him, and we have only abused one another at a distance." This caprice was the more extraordinary, as they had not met, nor had any kind of intercourse passed between them, since his Lordship's caresses in Ireland.

There was an incident, however, connected with a public transaction, which may perhaps afford some explanation of the minister's conduct in this instance. Several years before, Sir William Johnson, and others in America, had projected a plan for settling a new colony west of the Allegany Mountains. A company was formed, consisting of individuals, some of whom resided in America and others in England, and an application was made to the crown for a grant of land. Gentlemen of rank and distinction were among the associates. Mr. Thomas Walpole, a wealthy banker of London, was at the head of the Company, and from this circumstance the territory in question was usually called *Walpole's Grant.* The Company's agents for obtaining the grant, and making the requisite arrangements with the government, were Thomas Walpole, Dr. Franklin, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton. They presented a petition, which lay for a long time before the Board of Trade, without attracting much favor. It was said to interfere with the Ohio Company's lands, and with other grants made by the Governor of Virginia. Lord Hillsborough presided at the Board of Trade, and was secretly opposed to it, although he contrived to lead Mr. Walpole and his associates into the belief, that he was not unfriendly to their objects. At last it was necessary for the Board to give an opinion, and he then wrote an elaborate Report against the petition, which Report was approved by the Board and sent up to the King's Council.

In the mean time Dr. Franklin answered this Report in a very able paper, taking up and confuting each of his Lordship's objections, and advancing many arguments to prove the great advantages that would flow, both to the colonies and to the British nation, by extending the settlements westward. This answer

was likewise presented to the Council. It produced the desired effect. Notwithstanding the opposition of the Board of Trade, the petition was approved.

Lord Hillsborough had set his heart upon defeating the measure; for he had a scheme of his own in regard to the western boundary of the colonies, by which emigrations were not to extend beyond the head waters of the streams running eastward into the Atlantic. He thought it necessary thus to restrict the limits of the colonies, that they might be within reach of the trade and commerce of Great Britain, and be kept under a due subjection to the mother country. He was, therefore, disappointed and offended at the course taken by the Council; and the more so, as it was a proof that his influence was on the wane. He thought his opinions and judgment were treated with less respect than he was entitled to, as a member of the cabinet and the head of the Board of Trade. The issue of this affair, chiefly brought about by Dr. Franklin's answer to his Report, was the immediate cause of his resignation.

The answer was drawn up with great skill, containing a clear and methodical statement of historical facts, and weighty reasons for extending the western settlements. It was impossible to prevent the population, tempted by new and fertile lands, from spreading in that direction. Already many thousands had crossed the mountains and seated themselves on these lands, and others were daily following them. Was it good policy, or fair treatment to this portion of his Majesty's subjects, to leave them without a regular government, under which they might have the benefit of laws and a proper administration of justice? A colony, thus established, would, moreover, be a barrier against the incursions of the Indians into the popu-

lous districts along the Atlantic, which had hitherto been a constant source of bloody wars and vast expense to the inhabitants. It would afford additional facilities for promoting the Indian trade. So far from being out of the reach of British commerce, as Lord Hillsborough imagined, it would, in fact, enlarge that commerce by increasing the consumption of British manufactures, and filling the markets with new products of industry, derived from a soil now lying waste, but which, from its variety and richness, with an uncommon benignity of climate, would yield ample returns to the labor of the cultivator, and in such commodities as would meet a ready demand in all the principal marts with which the trade of Great Britain was connected. There would also be an easy communication with the seacoast by the navigable rivers, and by roads, which the settlers would soon find the means of constructing.

Dr. Franklin's exact knowledge of the internal state of America enabled him to amplify these topics, and illustrate them with statistical and geographical details, in such a manner as to overthrow all his opponent's objections, and the arguments upon which they were founded. The Revolution came on before the plan was executed, and, by depriving the King of his authority over the lands, defeated the completion of the grant. The experience of a few years, however, proved the accuracy and wisdom of Dr. Franklin's views on the subject, by the unparalleled rapidity with which the western territory was settled.*

* Lord Hillsborough seemed resolved to let it be known, that his temper was not implacable, if it was capricious. More than a year after his resignation, he met Dr. Franklin at Oxford. Calling at his room, his first salutation was, "Dr. Franklin, I did not know till this minute that you were here, and I am come to make you my bow. I am glad

In August, 1772, a committee of the Royal Society, under the direction of the government, examined the powder magazines at Purfleet, for the purpose of suggesting some method of protecting them from lightning. Dr. Franklin had already visited Purfleet, at the request of the Board of Ordnance, and recommended the use of pointed iron rods, according to the method originally proposed by him, which had been practised with success in America for more than twenty years. The committee consisted of Messrs. Cavendish, Watson, Franklin, Wilson, and Robertson, all of whom were distinguished for their acquaintance with electricity. A Report was drawn up by Dr. Franklin, and signed by the committee, in which they advised the erecting of pointed rods, with a minute description of the manner of constructing them.

Mr. Wilson was the only dissenting member, who gave it as his opinion, that pointed conductors were dangerous, inasmuch as they attracted the lightning, and might thus overcharge the rod and promote the mischief they were intended to prevent. According to his theory, the conductors ought to be blunt at the top. To satisfy himself more fully in this particular, as well as to remove all doubts from the minds of others, Dr. Franklin performed a series of new electrical experiments, by which he demonstrated, that pointed rods are preferable to blunt ones. It is true, they invite the lightning, yet this is the very thing desired, for the charge is thereby silently and gradually drawn from the clouds, and conveyed without

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to see you at Oxford, and that you look so well." The conversation continued for a short time. Alluding to this incident, Dr. Franklin said, "Of all the men I ever met with, he is surely the most unequal in his treatment of people, the most insincere, and the most wrongheaded." It is believed, that there was no intercourse afterwards between them.

danger to the earth; whereas a conductor, blunt at the top, may receive a larger quantity of the fluid at once, than can be carried away, which will thus cause an explosion. This was the principle, upon which his theory of lightning-rods was originally formed, and it was established more firmly than ever by these new experiments. They were satisfactory to nearly all the men of science, and the conductors at Purfleet were erected in the manner recommended by the committee.*

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* The controversy about *pointed* and *blunt* conductors continued for some time. Mr. Wilson grew warm in it, and gained adherents to his cause. A stroke of lightning fell upon the buildings at Purfleet in May, 1777, without doing any damage, but this accident brought the subject again into agitation. It was referred to another committee of the Royal Society, who reported as before in favor of pointed rods. Mr. Wilson seized this occasion to propagate his theory with renewed vigor, repeating his experiments in public, and in presence of the King and royal family, by whom they were countenanced. At one of these exhibitions Lord Mahon was present, and showed by experiments of his own, that Mr. Wilson misunderstood the theory of Dr. Franklin, or represented it unfairly. Mr. Henly and Mr. Nairne also demonstrated the fallacy of his principles. In the midst of the dispute, however, the pointed conductors were taken down from the Queen's palace, and blunt ones were substituted in their place. Dr. Ingenhousz, a member of the Royal Society, wrote an account of the affair, inveighing against Mr. Wilson's conduct, which was transmitted to a gentleman in Paris, with a request that he would show it to Dr. Franklin and have it published in France. Dr. Franklin replied as follows to this gentleman, in a letter dated at Passy, October 14th, 1777.

"I am much obliged by your communication of the letter from England. I am of your opinion, that it is not proper for publication here. Our friend's expressions concerning Mr. Wilson will be thought too angry to be made use of by one philosopher when speaking of another, and on a philosophical question. He seems as much heated about this *one point*, as the Jansenists and Molinists were about the *five*. As to my writing any thing on the subject, which you seem to desire, I think it not necessary, especially as I have nothing to add to what I have already said upon it in a paper read to the committee, who ordered the conductors at Purfleet; which paper is printed in the last French edition of my writings.

"I have never entered into any controversy in defence of my philo-

The successor of Lord Hillsborough in the American department was Lord Dartmouth. This appointment gave satisfaction to the colonial agents, and it has even been supposed, that Dr. Franklin was instrumental in effecting it. Some time before Lord Hillsborough's resignation, it was rumored, that he would probably be removed, as he was known not to be on cordial terms with the ministry; and, when Dr. Franklin was asked by a friend at court, if he could name another person for the place, who would be more acceptable to the Americans, he answered, "Yes, there is Lord Dartmouth; we liked him very well when he was at the head of the Board formerly, and probably should like him again." The colonists generally were pleased with the change. Lord Dartmouth had been on their side in opposing the Stamp Act,

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sophical opinions; I leave them to take their chance in the world. If they are *right*, truth and experience will support them; if *wrong*, they ought to be refuted and rejected. Disputes are apt to sour one's temper, and disturb one's quiet. I have no private interest in the reception of my inventions by the world, having never made, nor proposed to make, the least profit by any of them. The King's changing his *pointed* conductors for *blunt* ones is, therefore, a matter of small importance to me. If I had a wish about it, it would be, that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual. For it is only since he thought himself and family safe from the thunder of Heaven, that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects."

The wits entered the lists and amused the public and themselves at the expense of the philosophers. In allusion to this dispute, and to the political state of the times, the following epigram was written.

"While you, great George, for safety hunt,
And sharp conductors change for blunt,
The empire 's out of joint.
Franklin a wiser course pursues,
And all your thunder fearless views,
By keeping to the *point*."

The controversy died away, and was not revived so as to diminish the confidence in Franklin's theory of pointed conductors, which has been universally followed in practice.

and they hoped much from his character, and the dispositions he had shown towards them.

If they were disappointed in this hope, it was perhaps less owing to the fault of this minister, than to the policy which had been adopted in regard to America, and which he was obliged to support while he retained his office. In the administration of his own department, he at first assumed some degree of independence, and his conduct was more mild and considerate, than that of his predecessor; but he soon betrayed a want of consistency and firmness, which, although he was inclined to good measures, led him to join in sustaining the worst. He abolished the rule of not admitting agents to appear before the Board of Trade, whose election had not been approved by the governors, and restored to them all their former privileges. He consulted them frequently, and in a temper which at least evinced a desire to become thoroughly acquainted with the grounds of the colonial complaints, whatever may have been his opinion as to the expediency or the manner of removing them.

At his first interview with Lord Dartmouth on business, Dr. Franklin put into his hands a petition from the Assembly of Massachusetts to the King. Hutchinson, the Governor of the province, had lately received his salary from the crown, contrary to all former usage, and, as the Assembly declared, contrary to the spirit and intent of their charter, and to the constitution under which the government was established. It was a violation of their rights, and an alarming precedent, out of which might spring innumerable abuses subversive of their liberties. It was a prerogative of the Assembly, which had never before been encroached upon or questioned, to tax the people by laws of their own enacting for the support of government; and

this was designed not more as a security for the existence of government, than as a protection from any undue influence of the crown over the officers by whom it was administered. The Governor could negative their laws, and, being appointed by the King, the only tie that bound him to their interests was his dependence on them for his means of support. When this tie was broken, by making him exclusively dependent on the crown for his office and his salary, no motive remained with him for cultivating the good will of the people, and no restraint which would prevent him from exercising his power, whenever he should think proper, in such a manner as to undermine and ultimately break down the pillars of the constitution. The Assembly of Massachusetts saw, in this dangerous innovation, the ruin of their freedom, if it should be allowed to grow into a practice. They passed several spirited resolves in opposition to it, and petitioned the King for redress.

It was this petition, which Dr. Franklin handed to Lord Dartmouth. When they met again to discourse upon the subject, his Lordship advised, that it should not be presented for the present; said he was sure it would give offence; that it would probably be referred to the judges and lawyers for their opinion, who would report against it; and that the King might possibly lay it before Parliament, which would bring down the censure of both Houses in the shape of a reprimand by order of his Majesty. This would irritate the people, and add fresh fuel to the heats, which had already become so violent as to threaten unhappy consequences. He believed it would be better for both parties, if a little time could be left for these heats to cool; yet, as the petition had been delivered to him officially, he would, if Dr. Franklin insisted,

discharge his duty and present it to the King. Prompted by the most friendly feelings towards the province, however, he could not but repeat the wish, that it might be delayed, till these considerations could be stated to the petitioners and new instructions received.

In reply Dr. Franklin said, that, considering the large majority with which the resolves and petition had been carried through the House, after long and mature deliberation, he could not hope for any change upon a revision of the subject; that the refusing to receive petitions from the colonies had occasioned the loss of the respect for Parliament, which formerly existed; "that his Lordship might observe, that petitions came no more to Parliament, but to the King only; that the King appeared now to be the only connexion between the two countries; that, as a continued union was necessary to the wellbeing of the whole empire, he should be sorry to see that link weakened as the other had been; and that he thought it a dangerous thing for any government to refuse receiving petitions, and thereby prevent the subjects from giving vent to their griefs." Lord Dartmouth interrupted him by saying, that he did not refuse to present the petition, that he should never stand in the way of the complaints, which should be made to the King by any of his subjects, and that, in the present instance, he had no other motive for advising delay, than the purest good will to the province, and an ardent desire for harmony between the two countries.

Dr. Franklin finally concluded to comply with the minister's request, and to wait till he could communicate the substance of the conversation, and obtain further orders.

Not long after the adjournment of the Assembly, by which this petition had been sent to the King, news

arrived in Boston, that the salaries of the judges, as well as that of the Governor, were to be paid by the crown. The inhabitants immediately assembled in town meeting, and passed resolutions strongly remonstrating against the measure, as tending to complete the system of bondage, which had been preparing for the colonies ever since the passage of the Stamp Act. These resolutions were clothed in bold and energetic language, and they embraced an enumeration of the late acts of the British government, which were deemed oppressive and hostile to American liberty. It was voted also, that a copy of them should be transmitted to the other towns in the province, with a circular letter, recommending that the people should everywhere assemble in town meetings, and express their sentiments in a similar manner.

Governor Hutchinson took umbrage at these proceedings, and used his endeavours to counteract them. He denounced the meetings as unlawful, and the Boston resolutions as encouraging such principles, as would justify the colonies in a revolt, and in setting up an independent state. He moreover charged them mainly to the influence of Franklin. "The claims of the colonies," he afterwards said, "were prepared in England, in a more full manner than ever before, with a manifest design and tendency to revive a flame, which was near expiring. These, it seems to have been intended, should be first publicly avowed in Massachusetts Bay, and that the example should be followed by all the other colonies." And again, speaking of the Statement of Rights, which was reported by a committee appointed for the purpose at the town meeting of Boston, he adds; "Although, at its first appearance, it was considered as their own work, yet they had little more to do than to make the necessary al-

terations in the arrangement of materials prepared for them by their *great director* in England, whose counsels they obeyed, and in whose wisdom and dexterity they had an implicit faith."*

The individual here alluded to, as the "great director," was Dr. Franklin; but the charge is utterly unfounded. The guiding spirits in Massachusetts well understood their rights, and needed no aid from England to teach them in what manner to declare those rights to the world. Franklin's correspondence, containing the advice he actually gave, affords a complete vindication of his conduct in reference to this charge. In fact, his friends in America thought him too lukewarm, while those in England were concerned at his boldness. He had all along avowed his opinions without reserve, in his letters and published writings, and advised the colonists to hold fast their rights, to protest against every encroachment upon them, and to reiterate petitions for redress; but at the same time he recommended moderation in the measures of resistance, because he feared, that any rashness or precipitancy in this respect would be seized upon by the ministry as a pretext for more severe acts of Parliament, and for filling the country with troops to crush the spirit of liberty before the people were in a condition to maintain it; and because the growing strength and importance of the colonies would in due time cause them to be respected and their claims to be acknowledged.

When the pamphlet, containing the votes and resolutions of the town of Boston, came to his hands, he had it republished in London, with a Preface written by himself. In this performance he again took

* Hutchinson's *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. III. p. 364.

occasion to describe the condition of the colonists, and to explain the nature and reasons of their complaints, representing their late transactions as the natural consequences of the unwise policy of the government, in driving them to extremities by refusing to listen to their petitions and remove their real grievances. The temper and matter of this Preface were such, as to gain from the public a fair hearing to the resolutions themselves, which spoke in so high a tone, that they would necessarily give great offence to the partisans of the ministry, and in some measure cool the zeal of those in England, who wished well to the American cause.

The Massachusetts Assembly convened a short time after the Boston resolutions were passed. They took the same subject and the general state of the province into consideration. The result was another petition to the King, which was likewise transmitted to Dr. Franklin. He immediately waited on Lord Dartmouth, told him there could be no more delay, and requested him to deliver this petition to his Majesty, and also the one which had been held in suspense. The minister promised to comply with his wishes.*

About this time Dr. Franklin published anonymously two pieces, remarkable for the style in which they

* It has generally been said, that Dr. Franklin was the first to suggest a Continental Congress. In a private letter to Mr. Cushing, dated July 7th, 1773, after mentioning the proposal of the Virginia House of Burgesses to establish committees of correspondence, he says; "It is natural to suppose, as you do, that, if the oppressions continue, a congress may grow out of that correspondence. Nothing could more alarm our ministers; but, if the colonies agree to hold a congress, I do not see how it can be prevented." In an official letter, of the same date as the above, which was to be read to the Assembly, he dwells more at large upon the subject, and advances such solid reasons for a congress, as to amount to a recommendation. "As the strength of an empire," he says, "depends not only on the *union* of

are composed. They were entitled, *Rules for reducing a Great Empire to a Small One*, and *An Edict by the King of Prussia*. An admirable vein of irony runs through both these pieces. In the former, all the late measures of the British government, in relation to the colonies, are brought together under twenty distinct heads, and so represented, by an ingenious arrangement and turn of expression, as to constitute general rules, which, if put in practice, would enable any ministry to curtail the borders of a great empire and reduce it to a small one.

The *Edict* purports to have been promulgated with much solemnity by the King of Prussia, imposing restraints on the trade and manufactures of the Island of Great Britain, for the purpose of replenishing the coffers of his Prussian Majesty; it being alleged as a reason in the preamble, that the early settlements were made by Germans, who were subject to his ancestors, having flourished under their protection, and whose descendants were bound to obey the laws of

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its parts, but on their *readiness* for united exertion of their common force; and as the discussion of rights may seem unseasonable in the commencement of actual war, and the delay it might occasion be prejudicial to the common welfare; as likewise the refusal of one or a few colonies would not be so much regarded, if the others granted liberally, which perhaps by various artifices and motives they might be prevailed on to do; and as this want of concert would defeat the expectation of general redress, that otherwise might be justly formed; perhaps it would be best and fairest for the colonies, in a general congress now in peace to be assembled, or by means of the correspondence lately proposed, after a full and solemn assertion and declaration of their rights, to engage firmly with each other, that they will never grant aids to the crown in any general war, till those rights are recognised by the King and both Houses of Parliament; communicating at the same time to the crown this their resolution. Such a step I imagine will bring the dispute to a crisis." From these extracts it appears, that there had been a hint about a congress in one of Mr. Cushing's previous letters; but it is believed, that no other direct recommendation of the measure can be found at so early a date as the above.

his kingdom and contribute to its revenues. A parallel is pursued throughout between the actual conduct of the British government, and the pretended claims of the King of Prussia upon the inhabitants of Great Britain on account of their Saxon origin. Lord Mansfield was heard to say of this Edict, "that it was very *able* and very *artful* indeed, and would do mischief by giving in England a bad impression of the measures of government, and, in the colonies, by encouraging them in their contumacy." The good humor, which pervade both these compositions, and the pointed manner of expression, attracted to them many readers, who would scarcely have turned aside to a grave and argumentative discussion of the colonial controversy.

During his absence from London, in the summer of 1773, he passed a few weeks at the country residence of Lord Le Despencer, and employed himself, while there, in abridging some parts of the Book of Common Prayer. A handsome edition of this abridgment was printed for Wilkie, in St. Paul's Church Yard; but it seems never to have been adopted in any Church, nor to have gained much notice. The Preface explains his motives in this undertaking, and the principles upon which the alterations were made, with remarks on the objects and importance of public worship. At the conclusion he says; "And thus, conscious of upright meaning, we submit this abridgment to the serious consideration of the prudent and dispassionate, and not to enthusiasts and bigots, being convinced in our own breasts, that this shortened method, or one of the same kind better executed, would further religion, remove animosity, and occasion a more frequent attendance on the worship of God." *

* See Vol. X. p. 207, where the Preface is printed entire.

Many experiments were performed by Dr. Franklin, at different times and places, to show the effect of oil in smoothing the surface of water agitated by the wind. While on a tour in the north of England with Sir John Pringle, he tried this experiment successfully upon the Derwent Water at Keswick. Dr. Brownrigg was present, and, in answer to his inquiries afterwards, Dr. Franklin gave a history of what he had done in this way, and explained upon philosophical principles the singular fact, that had been established by his experiments. It was proved by numerous trials, that a small quantity of oil poured upon a lake or pond, when rough with waves, would speedily calm the waves, and produce a smooth and glassy surface. This had often been shown in the presence of many spectators. Indeed, he was accustomed in his travels to carry a little oil in the joint of a bamboo cane, by which he could repeat the experiment whenever an occasion offered. The Abbé Morellet mentions his having passed five or six days in company with Franklin, Garrick, Dr. Hawkesworth, and Colonel Barré, at Wycomb, the seat of Lord Shelburne, where he saw it performed with complete success.*

He explained as follows the operation of the oil in producing this effect. Waves are caused by winds, which so far adhere to the water as to raise it into ridges by their force. The particles of oil, when dropped on water, repel each other, and are also repelled by the water, so that they do not mingle with it. Hence they expand and diffuse themselves on the surface, till they meet with some obstruction, covering the water with an extremely thin and continu-

* Mémoires de l'Abbé Morellet, Tom. I. p. 197.

ous film. The wind slides over this film, without coming in contact with the water, and thus the waves subside. The most remarkable thing observable in the process is the expansive power of the oil, by which a few drops will spread over a large surface, if they meet with no obstruction.*

Dr. Franklin's mind was always more or less intent upon philosophical studies, for which his habits of observation and reflection peculiarly fitted him; yet he wrote little on subjects of this kind during his second mission to England. His various political duties, and the deep interest he took in the affairs of his country, absorbed his time and thoughts. He wrote a few pieces, however, on electricity and other kindred subjects, and one on the analogy between electricity and magnetism. He also sketched the plan of an elaborate essay on the causes of taking cold. It was never finished, but he left copious notes, from which it appears that he made extensive investigations, and formed a theory by which he imagined, that the nature of the malady would be better understood, and that more easy and effectual preventives might be used.

A new edition of his philosophical writings was published at Paris in 1773, translated by Barbeu Dubourg, a man of considerable eminence in the scientific world, and apparently well qualified for the task he undertook of translator and commentator. There

* The whole of the letter to Dr. Brownrigg is curious, containing anecdotes, and details of experiments. See Vol. VI. p. 357. Dr. Franklin did not pretend to have discovered this property of oil. He had read, when a youth, Pliny's "account of a practice among seamen of his time to still the waves in a storm by pouring oil into the sea," and had heard of a similar practice among seamen and fishermen in modern times. But he seems to have been the first, who tried experiments with the view of ascertaining the fact, and who attempted to explain its cause.

had already been two French editions, but M. Dubourg's is much superior to either of them, as well in the matter it contains as in the style of its execution. It is handsomely printed, in two volumes quarto, and includes several original pieces communicated to him by the author. It comprises nearly all he had written on electricity and other philosophical subjects, with a few of his political and miscellaneous papers. The translator's notes are valuable. A fifth edition of the philosophical writings was nearly at the same time published in London.

CHAPTER VII.

Hutchinson's Letters. — How they first became known to Franklin. — His Motives for transmitting them to Massachusetts. — Proceedings of the Assembly concerning them. — Dr. Cooper's Remarks on that Occasion. — Petition for the Removal of Hutchinson and Oliver presented by Franklin. — Duel between Temple and Whately. — Franklin's Declaration that the Letters had been transmitted by him. — Whately commences against him a Chancery Suit. — Proceedings of the Privy Council on the Petition. — Further Account of those Proceedings. — Wedderburn's Abusive Speech. — The Petition rejected. — Franklin dismissed from his Place at the Head of the American Postoffice.

We are now come to the date of a transaction, which contributed to reveal the origin of some of the most offensive proceedings of the British government against the colonies, and which subjected Dr. Franklin to much obloquy and abuse from the supporters of the administration.

In December, 1772, he procured and sent to Mr. Cushing, chairman of the Committee of Correspondence in Massachusetts, certain original letters, which had been written by Governor Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, and others, to Mr. Thomas Whately, a member of Parliament, and for a time secretary under one of the ministers. These letters, though not official, related wholly to public affairs, and were intended to affect public measures. They were filled with representations, in regard to the state of things in the colonies, as contrary to the truth, as they were insidious in their design. The discontents and commotions were ascribed to a factious spirit among the people, stirred up by a few intriguing leaders; and it was intimated, that this spirit would be subdued, and submission to the acts of Parliament would be attain-

ed, by the presence of a military force, and by persevering in the coercive measures already begun. When Dr. Franklin sent over these letters, he stated to Mr. Cushing his motives for doing it, and his opinion of their objects and tendency.

"On this occasion," he says, "I think it fit to acquaint you, that there has lately fallen into my hands part of a correspondence, that I have reason to believe laid the foundation of most, if not all, our present grievances. I am not at liberty to tell through what channel I received it; and I have engaged that it shall not be printed, nor copies taken of the whole, or any part of it; but I am allowed to let it be seen by some men of worth in the province, for their satisfaction only. In confidence of your preserving inviolably my engagement, I send you enclosed the original letters, to obviate every pretence of unfairness in copying, interpolation, or omission. The hands of the gentlemen will be well known. Possibly they may not like such an exposal of their conduct, however tenderly and privately it may be managed. But, if they are good men, or pretend to be such, and agree that *all good men wish a good understanding and harmony to subsist between the colonies and their mother country*, they ought the less to regret, that, at the small expense of their reputation for sincerity and public spirit among their compatriots, *so desirable an event may in some degree be forwarded.* For my own part, I cannot but acknowledge, that my resentment against this country, for its arbitrary measures in governing us, conducted by the late minister, has, since my conviction by these papers that those measures were projected, advised, and called for by men of character among ourselves, and whose advice must therefore be attended with all the weight that was proper to mislead,

and which could therefore scarce fail of misleading; my own resentment, I say, has by this means been exceedingly abated. *I think they must have the same effect with you;* but I am not, as I have said, at liberty to make the letters public. I can only allow them to be seen by yourself, by the other gentlemen of the Committee of Correspondence, by Messrs. Bowdoin and Pitts of the Council, and Drs. Chauncy, Cooper, and Winthrop, with a few such other gentlemen as you may think fit to show them to. After being some months in your possession, you are requested to return them to me.

"As to the writers, I can easily as well as charitably conceive it possible, that men educated in prepossessions of the unbounded authority of Parliament, &c. may think unjustifiable every opposition even to its unconstitutional exactions, and imagine it their duty to suppress, as much as in them lies, such opposition. But, when I find them bartering away the liberties of their native country for posts, and negotiating for salaries and pensions extorted from the people; and, conscious of the odium these might be attended with, calling for troops to protect and secure the enjoyment of them; when I see them exciting jealousies in the crown, and provoking it to work against so great a part of its most faithful subjects; creating enmities between the different countries of which the empire consists; occasioning a great expense to the *old* country for suppressing or preventing imaginary rebellions in the *new*, and to the new country for the payment of needless gratifications to useless officers and enemies; I cannot but doubt their sincerity even in the political principles they profess, and deem them mere time-servers, seeking their own private emolument, through any quantity of public mischief; betrayers of the interest, not of their

native country only, but of the government they pretend to serve, and of the whole English empire."

The manner in which the letters fell into his hands was never explained. In the account of the affair, which he wrote previously to his leaving England, but which was not published till many years after his death, he says, the first hint he had of their existence was from a gentleman of character and distinction, in conversation with whom he strongly condemned the sending of troops to Boston, as a measure fraught with mischief, and from which the worst consequences were to be apprehended. The gentleman assured him, "that not only the measure he particularly censured so warmly, but all the other grievances complained of, took their rise, not from the government, but were projected, proposed to administration, solicited, and obtained, by some of the most respectable among the Americans themselves, as necessary measures for the welfare of that country.' As he seemed incredulous, the gentleman said he could bring such testimony as would convince him; and a few days after he produced the letters in question. He was astonished, but could no longer doubt, because the handwriting, particularly of Hutchinson and Oliver, was recognised by him, and their signatures were affixed.

The name of the person, to whom they were addressed, was nowhere written upon them. It either had been erased, or perhaps the letters themselves were originally forwarded under envelopes, which had not been preserved. There is no evidence from which it can be inferred, that Dr. Franklin at that time knew the name of this person, or that he was ever informed of the manner in which the letters were obtained. If this secret was ever revealed to him, he does not appear to have disclosed it, and it is still a

mystery. Three individuals, besides himself, were acquainted with the circumstance of their being sent. One of these was Mr. John Temple; the names of the other two are not known. It has been said, that one of them was a member of Parliament.

Acting in this business from an imperative sense of duty, Dr. Franklin took no pains to screen himself from consequences. He mentioned the subject several times in his correspondence with Mr. Cushing and Dr. Cooper, but he did not in any instance intimate a wish, that his name as connected with it, or his agency, should be concealed. Mr. Cushing proceeded with caution, however, and informed two gentlemen only of the source from which the letters had come; and these gentlemen kept the secret till it was published by Dr. Franklin himself in London. Nor was it known, except to these individuals, by whom the letters were received in Boston. Mr. Cushing said, in writing to Dr. Franklin, "I desire, so far as I am concerned, my name may not be mentioned; for it may be a damage to me." This injunction was obeyed to the last.

Although the names of the persons chiefly concerned were thus kept out of sight, yet the letters themselves were seen by many persons; the instructions in this respect not confining them within narrow limits. Mr. John Adams carried them about with him on a judicial circuit. The rumor of their existence, and of the general character of their contents, soon got abroad; and, when the legislature met, the members became exceedingly inquisitive and solicitous concerning them. It was finally concluded to lay them before the Assembly, which usually sat with closed doors. They were read, but nothing could be done with them, while the prohibition against taking copies remained.

Soon after, copies were produced in the House, "*said* to have come from England by the last ships." The originals being already before the House, the accuracy of the copies could easily be proved. While they were under consideration, Dr. Cooper wrote a letter to Dr. Franklin, dated Boston, June 14th, 1773, from which the following is an extract.

"Many members scrupled to act upon these copies, while they were under such public engagements to the unknown proprietor of the originals. As the matter was now so public, and the restrictions could answer no good end, no view of the sender, but, on the contrary, might prevent in a great measure a proper use of the letters for the public benefit, and for weakening the influence and power of the writers and their friends, and disarming their revenge, it was judged most expedient, by the gentlemen to whom they were first shown, to allow the House such use of the originals, as they might think necessary to found their proceedings upon for the common safety. By whom and to whom they were sent is still a secret, known only to three persons here, and may still remain so, if you desire it.

"I forgot to mention, that, upon the first appearance of the letters in the House, they voted, by a majority of one hundred and one to five, that the design and tendency of them were to subvert the constitution, and introduce arbitrary power. Their committee upon this matter reported this day a number of resolutions, which are to be printed by to-morrow morning, and every member furnished with a copy, that they may compare them with the letters; and to-morrow at three o'clock in the afternoon is the time appointed to decide upon the report. The acceptance of it by a great majority is not doubted.

"Nothing could have been more seasonable than the arrival of these letters. They have had great effect; they make deep impressions wherever they are known; they strip the mask from the writers, who, under the professions of friendship to their country, now plainly appear to have been endeavouring to build up themselves and their families upon its ruins. They and their adherents are shocked and dismayed; the confidence reposed in them by many is annihilated; and administration must soon see the necessity of putting the provincial power of the crown into other hands, if they mean it should operate to any good effect. This, at present, is almost the universal sentiment."

The resolutions here mentioned, as having been reported by a committee of the House, were passed the next day by a very large majority, warmly censuring the letters, as having the tendency and design not only to sow the seeds of discord and encourage the oppressive acts of the British government, but to introduce arbitrary power into the province, and subvert its constitution. A petition to the King was then voted with the same unanimity, praying his Majesty to remove from office Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant-Governor Oliver, who, by their conduct, had rendered themselves obnoxious to the people, and entirely lost their confidence.*

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* Governor Hutchinson says, that he "received early information from whom, and to whom, these letters were sent, and with what injunctions, from a person let into the secret." Dr. Franklin had, indeed, written to Dr. Cooper, that "the letters might be shown to some of the Governor's and Lieutenant-Governor's partisans, and spoken of to everybody, for there was no restraint proposed to talking of them, but only to copying." There was, nevertheless, a want of good faith somewhere, as well in other cases as in this. Copies of Franklin's letters were secretly procured and communicated to Hutchinson, who is known to have sent one of them to the ministry, and it may be pre-

When the petition arrived, Lord Dartmouth was at his seat in the country. Dr. Franklin transmitted it to him, and his Lordship, after his return to town, informed him, that it had been presented to his Majesty; but, from the tenor of the minister's conversation, he was led to suspect, that it would not be complied with.

In the mean time an event took place, which caused much excitement. Hutchinson's letters had been printed in Boston, and copies of them came over to London. Public curiosity was raised, and great inquiry was made, as to the person by whom they had been transmitted. Mr. Thomas Whately was dead, and his papers had gone into the possession of his brother, Mr. William Whately, who was censured for allowing the letters to be taken away. Mr. Temple had asked permission of him to examine his brother's papers, with the view of perusing a certain document on colonial affairs, which he believed to be among them. The permission was granted; and now Mr. Whately's suspicion rested upon Mr. Temple, whom he imagined to have taken advantage of this opportunity to gain

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sumed that this was not a solitary instance. In his *History* is published an extract from one of Franklin's letters to Dr. Cooper, which could hardly have been obtained otherwise than surreptitiously. And, what is worse, there is an omission and a substitution, which materially alter the sense, and misrepresent the motives of the writer. The extract relates to the reasons for refusing copies of the letters. As printed in Hutchinson's *History*, it is made to close as follows; — "*And possibly, as distant objects seen through a mist appear larger, the same may happen from the mystery in this case.*" Nothing like this was written by Franklin. It was invented for the occasion. His words, for which the above were substituted, are the following. "*However, the terms given with these* [the original letters] *could only be those with which they were received.*" The design of the forgery is obvious. With whom it originated is uncertain. It may have been done before the extract was conveyed to Hutchinson. — See Vol. VIII. p. 72. — *History of Massachusetts*, Vol. III. p. 396.

possession of the letters in question. A duel was the consequence, in which Mr. Whately was wounded.

At this crisis Dr. Franklin felt himself bound to interfere. He immediately published a declaration, in which he assumed the entire responsibility of having transmitted the letters, and said, that, as they were not among Mr. Thomas Whately's papers when these passed into the hands of his brother, neither he nor Mr. Temple could have been concerned in withdrawing them. The whole tide of obloquy was now turned against Dr Franklin. He was assailed by the friends of Mr. Whately for not having prevented the duel by an earlier declaration; and he was vehemently attacked by the retainers of the ministry for the part he had acted in procuring and sending the letters. To the first charge it is enough to say, that he had no intimation of the duel till it was over. He thought himself entitled to the thanks of the parties, rather than their censure, for thus relieving them from suspicion in the eyes of the public, and removing the cause of their personal difference. As to the other charge, it was no more than he expected; and he was prepared to meet it with a clear conscience, having no private ends to serve in the transaction, and no other motive than justice to his country.

Mr. Whately did not stop here. Without any previous warning or complaint, he commenced a chancery suit against Dr. Franklin. The bill contained a strange list of false specifications, all of which were denied on oath by Dr. Franklin, who affirmed at the same time, in reference to the letters, that, when they were given to him, no address appeared on them, and that he had not previously any knowledge of their existence. At this stage of the business the chancery suit seems to have been suspended, and it was finally dropped. He considered this an ungrateful, as

well as a precipitate, step of Mr. Whately, to whom he had lately rendered an important service, by enabling him to secure a valuable property in Pennsylvania.

Notice was at length given to Dr. Franklin, that his Majesty had referred the petition to the Privy Council, and that a meeting would be held in three days to take it into consideration at the Cockpit, where his attendance was required. He accordingly appeared there at the time appointed, January 11th, 1774, with Mr. Bollan, the agent for the Massachusetts Council. The petition was read, and Dr. Franklin was asked what he had to offer in support of it. He replied, that Mr. Bollan would speak in behalf of the petitioners, this having been agreed upon between them. Mr. Bollan began to speak, but he was silenced by the Lords of the Council, because he was not the agent for the Assembly. It then appeared, that Hutchinson and Oliver had employed Mr. Wedderburn, the King's solicitor, as their counsel, who was then present, and ready to go on with their defence. Authenticated copies of the letters were produced, and some conversation ensued, in which Mr. Wedderburn advanced divers cavils against them; and said it would be necessary to know how the Assembly came by them, through whose hands they had passed, and to whom they were addressed. To this the Lord Chief Justice assented.

When Mr. Wedderburn proceeded to speak further, Dr. Franklin interrupted him, and said he had not understood that counsel was to be employed against the petition. He did not conceive, that any point of law or right was involved, which required the arguments of lawyers, but he supposed it to be rather "a question of civil and political prudence"; in which

their Lordships would decide, from the state of facts presented in the papers themselves, whether the complaints of the petitioners were well founded, and whether the Governor and Lieutenant-Governor had so far rendered themselves obnoxious to the people, as to make it for the interest of his Majesty's service to remove them. He then requested, that counsel might likewise be heard in behalf of the Assembly. The request was granted, and three weeks were allowed for preparation.

"A report now prevailed through the town," Dr. Franklin afterwards wrote, "that I had been grossly abused by the solicitor-general, at the Council Board. But this was premature. He had only intended it, and mentioned that intention. I heard, too, from all quarters, that the ministry and all the courtiers were highly enraged against me for transmitting those letters. I was called an incendiary, and the papers were filled with invectives against me. Hints were given me, that there were some thoughts of apprehending me, seizing my papers, and sending me to Newgate. I was well informed, that a resolution was taken to deprive me of my place; it was only thought best to defer it till after the hearing; I suppose, because I was there to be so blackened, that nobody should think it injustice. Many knew, too, how the petition was to be treated; and I was told, even before the first hearing, that it was to be rejected with some epithets, the Assembly to be censured, and some honor done the governors. How this could be known, one cannot say. It might be only conjecture."

Mr. Dunning and Mr. John Lee, two eminent barristers, were the counsel employed for the Assembly. They concluded to rest the argument on the facts stated in the petition and the Assembly's other papers, showing the discontents of the people, and the

expediency of removing officers, whose conduct had made them so odious, that their usefulness was at an end; and not to touch upon the objectionable parts of the letters, these being of a political nature, the falsehood of which it would be difficult to prove. Nor, indeed, would any proof be satisfactory to judges, who deemed these very offences, so much detested by the people, as meritorious acts in support of the arbitrary designs of the government. If this was not manifest from what had already passed, it was made so by the manner in which the petition was treated, when it came again to be considered by the Council. This extraordinary scene was described by Dr. Franklin, a few days after its occurrence.

"Notwithstanding the intimations I had received, I could not believe that the solicitor-general would be permitted to wander from the question before their Lordships, into a new case, the accusation of another person for another matter, not cognizable before them, who could not expect to be there so accused, and therefore could not be prepared for his defence. And yet all this happened, and in all probability was preconcerted; for all the courtiers were invited, as to an entertainment, and there never was such an appearance of privy counsellors on any occasion, not less than thirty-five, besides an immense crowd of other auditors.

"The hearing began by reading my letter to Lord Dartmouth, enclosing the petition, then the petition itself, the resolves, and lastly the letters, the solicitor-general making no objections, nor asking any of the questions he had talked of at the preceding board. Our counsel then opened the matter, upon their general plan, and acquitted themselves very handsomely; only Mr. Dunning, having a disorder on his lungs, that weakened his voice exceedingly, was not so perfectly

heard as one could have wished. The solicitor-general then went into what he called a history of the province for the last ten years, and bestowed plenty of abuse upon it, mingled with encomium on the governors. But the favorite part of his discourse was levelled at your agent, who stood there the butt of his invective ribaldry for near an hour, not a single Lord adverting to the impropriety and indecency of treating a public messenger in so ignominious a manner, who was present only as the person delivering your petition, with the consideration of which no part of his conduct had any concern. If he had done a wrong, in obtaining and transmitting the letters, that was not the tribunal where he was to be accused and tried. The cause was already before the Chancellor. Not one of their Lordships checked and recalled the orator to the business before them, but, on the contrary, a very few excepted, they seemed to enjoy highly the entertainment, and frequently burst out in loud applauses. This part of his speech was thought so good, that they have since printed it, in order to defame me everywhere, and particularly to destroy my reputation on your side of the water; but the grosser parts of the abuse are omitted, appearing, I suppose, in their own eyes, too foul to be seen on paper; so that the speech, compared to what it was, is now perfectly decent. I send you one of the copies. My friends advise me to write an answer, which I purpose immediately.

"The reply of Mr. Dunning concluded. Being very ill, and much incommoded by standing so long, his voice was so feeble, as to be scarce audible. What little I heard was very well said, but appeared to have little effect.

"Their Lordships' Report, which I send you, is dated the same day. It contains a severe censure, as you

will see, on the petition and the petitioners, and, as I think, a very unfair conclusion from my silence, that the charge of surreptitiously obtaining the letters was a true one; though the solicitor, as appears in the printed speech, had acquainted them that that matter was before the Chancellor; and my counsel had stated the impropriety of my answering there to charges then trying in another court. In truth, I came by them honorably, and my intention in sending them was virtuous, if an endeavour to lessen the breach between two states of the same empire be such, by showing that the injuries complained of by one of them did not proceed from the other, but from traitors among themselves."

After this judicial farce, no one could be surprised at the result. Their Lordships reported, "that the petition was founded upon resolutions formed upon false and erroneous allegations, and that the same was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous, and calculated only for the seditious purpose of keeping up a spirit of clamor and discontent in the provinces." The King approved the Report, and the petition was dismissed. And such was the language, which the British rulers thought proper to use in replying to the respectful complaints of an ancient and populous province. If the people would bear this, they might well say, that their long cherished freedom had become an empty sound and a mockery. Let history tell how they bore it, and how long.

The next day Dr. Franklin was officially informed of his being dismissed from the place of deputy postmaster-general. For this manifestation of the royal displeasure he was prepared, as well by previous intimations as by the proceedings of the Council. It cannot be supposed, that he was callous to these in-

dignities, especially as they were intended to overwhelm him with disgrace, and ruin his credit and influence. But he suppressed his resentment, and took no steps either to vindicate himself, or to counteract the malicious arts of his enemies, conscious of having done only what his duty required. When the facts came to be known and understood, his conduct was applauded by every friend of liberty and justice in both countries. He gained new credit, instead of losing what he possessed, thus baffling the iniquitous schemes of his adversaries, whom he lived to see entangled in their own toils, and whose disgraceful overthrow it was his fortune to be a principal instrument in effecting.

From this time he kept aloof from the ministers, going no more to their levees, nor seeking any further intercourse with them. He contemplated bringing his affairs to a close in England and returning home; and with this view he put the papers relating to the Massachusetts agency into the hands of Mr. Arthur Lee, who had been appointed to succeed him whenever he should retire. Mr. Lee went over to the continent, to be absent several months; and then Dr. Franklin took upon himself again the business of the agency, thinking it improper to leave the post vacant, till the Assembly should be apprized of the absence of Mr. Lee, and of his own wish to withdraw.*

* The following extract from a letter, written by Dr. Rush to Arthur Lee, will show the estimation in which Dr. Franklin was at this time held by his countrymen. "There is a general union among the colonies," says Dr. Rush, "which no artifices of a ministry will be able to break. Dr. Franklin is a very popular character in every part of America. He will be received, and carried in triumph to his house, when he arrives amongst us. It is to be hoped he will not consent to hold any more offices under government. No step but this can prevent his being handed down to posterity among the first and greatest characters in the world." — *Philadelphia, May 4th*, 1774.

CHAPTER VIII.

Franklin remains in England to await the Result of the Continental Congress. — Josiah Quincy, Junior. — Anecdotes. — Death of Dr. Franklin's Wife. — Family Incidents. — He receives and presents the Petition of Congress. — Rejected by Parliament. — Galloway's Plan of Union. — Franklin's Attempts to promote a Reconciliation between the two Countries. — Visits Lord Chatham. — Remarks on Independence. — Mrs. Howe. — He draws up Articles as the Basis of a Negotiation, at the Request of Dr. Fothergill and Mr. Barclay. — These Articles shown to the Ministers, and various Conferences concerning them. — Interviews with Lord Howe respecting some Mode of Reconciliation. — He drafts another Paper for that Purpose. — Lord Chatham's Approval of the Proceedings of Congress. — Lord Camden. — Lord Chatham's Motion in Parliament. — Franklin's Interviews with him in forming a Plan of Reconciliation. — This Plan offered to Parliament, and rejected. — Negotiation resumed and broken off. — Franklin sails from England and arrives in Philadelphia.

In the mean time the news arrived, that a Continental Congress was about to convene, and, by the advice of his friends, Dr. Franklin concluded to wait the issue of that event. "My situation here," he observes, "is thought by many to be a little hazardous; for if, by some accident, the troops and people of New England should come to blows, I should probably be taken up; the ministerial people affecting everywhere to represent me as the cause of all the misunderstanding; and I have been frequently cautioned to secure my papers, and by some advised to withdraw. But I venture to stay, in compliance with the wish of others, till the result of the Congress arrives, since they suppose my being here might on that occasion be of use; and I confide in my innocence, that the worst which can happen to me will be an imprisonment upon suspicion, though that is a thing

I should much desire to avoid, as it may be expensive and vexatious, as well as dangerous to my health."

In this state of uncertainty and suspense he was greatly cheered by the arrival of Josiah Quincy, Junior, from Boston, the son of his old and valued friend, Josiah Quincy, of Braintree. Among the patriots of Massachusetts, who had signalized themselves in opposing the arbitrary acts of the British government, Josiah Quincy, Junior, was second to no one in talents, zeal, and activity. Having taken a conspicuous part in the late transactions, he was enabled to inform Dr. Franklin of all that had been done, and of the character and purposes of the prominent leaders; and it was a source of mutual satisfaction to find a perfect harmony of sentiment between themselves on the great subject, which had now become of vital importance to their country. In one of his letters, dated November 27th, Mr. Quincy says, "Dr. Franklin is an American in heart and soul; you may trust him; his ideas are not contracted within the narrow limits of exemption from taxes, but are extended upon the broad scale of total emancipation. He is explicit and bold upon the subject, and his hopes are as sanguine as my own, of the triumph of liberty in America."* Mr. Quincy was in England four months, and held almost daily intercourse with Dr. Franklin. He also visited Lord North, Lord Dartmouth, and some of the other ministers, at their request, conversed frequently with members of Parliament, and on all occasions defended the rights and conduct of his countrymen with

* Dr. Gordon, who had imbibed the prejudices of a party against Dr. Franklin, as is obvious in various parts of his *History*, omits in quoting this passage, the clause, — "you may trust him," — and also, — "his hopes are as sanguine as my own, of the triumph of liberty in America." — GORDON'S *History*, 1st ed., Vol. I. p. 434.

the same freedom and firmness, that he would have used among his most intimate friends in Boston.*

While Dr. Franklin was making preparations to leave England early in the spring, and looking forward to a happy meeting with his family, from whom he had been separated ten years, he received the afflicting intelligence of the death of his wife. She was attacked with a paralytic stroke, which she survived only five days. For some months she had complained of occasional ill health, but nothing serious was apprehended by her friends, although she was

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* He relates the following anecdote. "In the course of conversation Dr. Franklin said, that more than sixteen years ago, long before any dispute with America, the present Lord Camden, then Mr. Pratt, said to him, 'For all what you Americans say of your loyalty, and all that, I know you will one day throw off your dependence on this country; and, notwithstanding your boasted affection for it, you will set up for independence.' Dr. Franklin said that he answered him, 'No such idea was ever entertained by the Americans, nor will any such ever enter their heads, unless you grossly abuse them.' 'Very true,' replied Mr. Pratt, 'that is one of the main causes I see will happen, and will produce the event.'"—*Journal, Dec. 14th.*

Two years before Mr. Quincy's voyage to England, he made a tour for his health through the southern and middle provinces. At Philadelphia he fell in company with some of the Proprietary party, who spoke disparagingly of Dr. Franklin, and he wrote down an opinion of that kind in his Journal. On the same page of the Journal he afterwards made the following record. — "*London, January,* 1775. I am now very well satisfied, that the abovenamed Doctor has been grossly calumniated; and I have one more reason to induce me to be cautious how I hearken to the slander of envious or malevolent tongues. This minute I thought it but justice to insert, in order to take off any impression to the disadvantage of Dr. Franklin, who I am now fully convinced is one of the wisest and best of men upon earth; one, of whom it may be said that this world is not worthy."—*MS. Journal.*

Mr. Quincy's health rapidly declined in England, and the voyage homeward exhausted him so much, that he died a few hours before the vessel entered the harbour of Cape Ann, on the 26th of April, 1775, at the early age of thirty-one. The *Memoir of his Life*, by his son, is a valuable tribute to his memory, interesting in its details, and a rich contribution to the history of the country.

heard to express a conviction, that she should not recover. They had been married forty-four years, and lived together in a state of uninterrupted harmony and happiness.

Their correspondence during his long absence, a great part of which has been preserved, is affectionate on both sides, exhibiting proofs of an unlimited confidence and devoted attachment. He omitted no opportunity to send her whatever he thought would contribute to her convenience and comfort, accompanied by numerous little tokens of remembrance and affection. So much did he rely on her prudence and capacity, that, when abroad, he intrusted to her the management of his private affairs. Many years after her death, in writing to a young lady, he said; "Frugality is an enriching virtue; a virtue I never could acquire myself; but I was once lucky enough to find it in a wife, who therefore became a fortune to me." The little song, which he wrote in her praise, is marked with a playful tenderness, and contains sentiments creditable to his feelings as a man and a husband. In his autobiography and letters he often mentions his wife, and always with a kindness and respect, which could proceed only from genuine sensibility and a high estimate of her character and virtues.*

A late English writer, who in the main has done justice to Franklin, thinks it strange, that so little has been said of his family connexions; and insinuates, that, in his days of prosperity, he was less attentive to his poor relations, than would be expected from one, so remarkable for benevolence and philanthropy in his

* Mrs. Franklin died at Philadelphia, December 19th, 1774, and was buried in the cemetery of Christ's Church, on the side next to Arch Street.

intercourse with society and in all his public acts. To remove such a suspicion, it is only necessary to peruse his writings, and study his history. The tale of his early years is told by himself in his own simple and expressive language, and no one will say, that it is deficient in a lively concern for the welfare of his relatives, or in the natural sympathies of a son and a brother. His circumstances were as humble, and his fortunes as adverse, as those of any of his family; and, before he had gained a competency, many of them had passed off the stage. When his wife died, the last of his sixteen brothers and sisters, except the youngest, had been dead eight years, his father twenty-eight, and his mother twenty.

Neither his parents, nor more than two or three of his brothers and sisters, needed his assistance. His brother James died at Newport in Rhode Island, leaving a widow and children, whom he befriended and aided many years. His brother Peter died at an advanced age in Philadelphia, having been established there by Dr. Franklin, and assisted by him in procuring a support. His youngest sister, Jane, who married Edward Mecom, resided the most of her life in Boston, and was left a widow with several children. Her means of support were small, and her misfortunes many; but she was sustained by his affectionate kindness and liberal bounty as long as he lived, of which there are abundant evidences in her letters of grateful acknowledgment. More than any others of the family, she resembled him in the strength of her character and intellect. Her eldest son found a home in his family, till he had learned the printer's trade, when he was set up in business by his uncle. Dr. Franklin met in England a relation of the same name, but of another branch of the family, old and poor,

who had an only daughter eleven years of age. This child he took home to his lodgings in London, with no other than charitable motives, and had her educated and maintained at his charge till she was married.

No father was ever more kind, devoted, or generous to his own children. His eldest son, William, was his constant companion at home and abroad in his youth, and afterwards the object of his confidence and paternal regard, till he estranged himself by his violent political conduct, sacrificing the ties of kindred to the schemes of ambition. Francis Folger, his second son, died when he was only four years old, of whom his father said, "Though now dead thirty-six years, to this day I cannot think of him without a sigh." His daughter, Sarah, alone remained to soothe his old age, and administer to his last wants in a lingering disease. From her birth she experienced from him all that a father's fondness, indulgence, and counsel could bestow, and he bequeathed to her the principal part of the fortune, which he had acquired by years of laborious industry, and by the habitual practice of his rigid maxims of economy and prudence.

On all occasions he was prompt to assist the necessitous, and liberal in his benefactions and deeds of charity. For public objects his contributions were in full proportion to his means. He had a delicate way of giving money, which he called lending it for the good of mankind. To an English clergyman, a prisoner in France, whose wants he relieved by a sum of money, he wrote; "Some time or other you may have an opportunity of assisting with an equal sum a stranger who has equal need of it. Do so. By that means you will discharge any obligation you may suppose yourself under to me. Enjoin him to do the same on occasion. By pursuing such a practice, much

good may be done with little money. Let kind offices go round. Mankind are all of a family." This was a common practice with him, by which he could spare the feelings of the receiver, and practically inculcate the maxim of doing good.

About the middle of December, 1774, Dr. Franklin received the petition of the first Continental Congress to the King, with a letter from the president of Congress to the several colonial agents in London, requesting them to present the petition. All the agents, except Franklin, Bollan, and Lee, declined acting in the business, alleging that they had no instructions. These three gentlemen, however, carried it to Lord Dartmouth, who, after retaining it one day for perusal, during which a cabinet council was held, agreed to deliver it; and in a short time he informed them, that his Majesty had been pleased to receive it "very graciously," and would lay it before both Houses of Parliament. This was accordingly done, but without any allusion to it in the King's speech, or any message calling the attention of Parliament to the subject. It was sent down with a mass of letters of intelligence, newspapers, and pamphlets, and laid upon the table undistinguished from the other papers with which it was accompanied. The agents requested to be heard at the bar of the House in support of the petition, but were refused. When it came up for consideration, it was rejected by an overwhelming majority, after a heated debate, in which the ministerial members spoke contemptuously of the Americans and of their pretended grievances, and insisted on reducing them to obedience at all events, and by force of arms if that were necessary.

While the first Congress was sitting, Galloway, who was a member from Pennsylvania, proposed a

plan of union between Great Britain and the colonies, which met with so little success, that there was almost a unanimous voice for not permitting it to be entered in the journals. Piqued at this slight, and at the defeat of a scheme from which he had formed high expectations, Galloway caused his plan to be printed, in connexion with disrespectful observations on the proceedings of Congress. He sent a copy of it to Dr. Franklin, who, in his reply, without touching upon its merits, gave his ideas of some preliminary articles, which he said ought to be agreed to before any plan of union could be established. These articles included a repeal of the Declaratory Act, and of all the acts of Parliament laying duties on the colonies, all acts altering the charter, constitution, or laws of any colony, all acts restraining manufactures, with a modification of the navigation acts, which should be reënacted by the legislatures of both countries. It was his opinion, however, that no benefit would result to America by a closer union with Great Britain than already existed.

For the year past, Dr. Franklin had foreseen, that, if the ministers persevered in their mad projects against the colonies, a rupture between the two countries and a civil war would soon follow; and he used all the means in his power to induce a change of measures. This was known to gentlemen of influence in the opposition, who were striving to effect the same end, and who accordingly sought his counsel and coöperation. Lord Chatham was among those, who condemned the policy and acts of the administration; and he was resolved to make a strenuous effort in Parliament to avert the calamity, which he saw, as he thought, impending over the nation. In the month of August, 1774, while Dr. Franklin was on a visit

to Mr. Sargent, at his seat in Kent, he received an invitation from Lord Chatham to visit him at Hayes, his Lordship's residence, which was not far distant. Lord Stanhope called on Dr. Franklin the next day, and accompanied him to Hayes.

The conversation turned on American affairs. Lord Chatham spoke feelingly of the late laws against Massachusetts; censured them with severity, and said he had a great esteem for the people of that country, and "hoped they would continue firm, and unite in defending, by all practicable and legal means, their constitutional rights." Dr. Franklin said he was convinced they would do so, and then proceeded to explain the nature and grounds of their complaints, the unconstitutional encroachments of Parliament, and the injustice and impolicy of the measures, which the ministers were rashly enforcing, and which would inevitably alienate the affections of the colonists, and drive them to desperation and open resistance.

His Lordship seemed pleased with his frankness, assented to some of his statements, and raised queries respecting others. He mentioned an opinion prevailing in England, that the Americans were aiming to set up an independent state. Dr. Franklin assured him, that he had at different times travelled from one end of the continent to the other, conversed with all descriptions of people, and had never heard a hint of this kind from any individual. This declaration referred to the past, and to the actual disposition towards the mother country before the late events, and not to the temper which had been excited by the novel aggressions of the British government; for Dr. Franklin himself, at this very time, as we learn from his conversation with Mr. Quincy, was looking forward to independence, because he was satisfied that the min-

istry would not relax from their tyrannical measures, and that the people would not endure them. On this ground alone he expected independence, and not from any thing that had as yet been done or resolved by the colonists.*

Lord Chatham was affable, professed to be much pleased with the visit, and politely told Dr. Franklin, that he should be glad to see him whenever his convenience would permit.

Some time after, when he was at a meeting of the Royal Society, Mr. Raper, one of the members, proposed to introduce him to a certain lady, who, he said, wished to play with him at chess. This lady was Mrs. Howe, a sister of Lord Howe. Being fond of chess, and having no reason to decline such an invitation, he accepted the challenge, not dreaming that any thing more was intended than a little recreation. He called on her with his friend, played a few games, and, finding her agreeable and intelligent, agreed to resume the amusement on another day.

He went accordingly, and played as before. The chess-board being laid aside, Mrs. Howe began a conversation, first on a mathematical problem, then on political affairs, and at last she said, "What is to be done with this dispute between Great Britain and the colonies? I hope we are not to have a civil war." "They should kiss and be friends," said Franklin; "what can they do better? Quarrelling can be of service to neither, but it is ruin to both." "I have often said," she replied, "that I wished government

* The above declaration, respecting the time when the Americans first conceived the idea of independence, is confirmed by the testimony of Washington, John Adams, Jay, Jefferson, Madison, and others who acted a conspicuous part in the Revolution. These all affirm, that, before the commencement of hostilities, they aimed only at a redress of grievances and a restoration to their former rights — See SPARKS's edition of *Washington's Writings*, Vol. II. p. 496.

would employ you to settle the dispute for them; I am sure nobody could do it so well. Do you not think that the thing is practicable?" "Undoubtedly, Madam," he rejoined, "if the parties are disposed to reconciliation; for the two countries have really no clashing interests to differ about. It is rather a matter of punctilio, which two or three reasonable people might settle in half an hour. I thank you for the good opinion you are pleased to express of me; but the ministers will never think of employing me in that good work; they choose rather to abuse me." "Ay," said she, "they have behaved shamefully to you; and, indeed, some of them are now ashamed of it themselves." As this conversation was apparently incidental, he drew no inferences from it, but assented again to the lady's request to renew their game of chess on a future occasion.

In the mean time two of his friends, Dr. Fothergill and David Barclay, jointly expressed to him great concern at the present state of the colonial dispute, and urged him with much solicitude to make a new and formal attempt to bring about a reconciliation, saying that he understood the business better than anybody else, and could manage it more effectually, and that it seemed to be his duty to leave no expedient untried, which would tend to promote an object of so great moment to both countries. At first he objected to any further interference, believing the ministry were not in the least inclined to an accommodation, but that they wished rather to irritate the colonists and push them to acts of resistance, that they might have a pretence for using force to reduce them to submission.

Dr. Fothergill and Mr. Barclay were of a different opinion, and were convinced, that, whatever might be

the designs of some of the ministers, others seriously desired a reconciliation, and would listen to any reasonable propositions for that end. They entreated him to think of the matter, and to sketch a plan, such as he should be willing to support, and as in his opinion would be acceptable to the colonies. With some reluctance he yielded to their solicitation, and promised to prepare a draft, and show it to them at their next meeting.

He drew up a paper, consisting of seventeen articles, which he called *Hints*, but which embodied the elements of a compact. He consented that the tea, which had been destroyed in the harbour of Boston, should be paid for; but he required the tea act, and all the acts restraining manufactures, the laws against Massachusetts and the Quebec act, to be repealed, and all the acts for regulating trade to be reënacted by the colonial legislatures. He insisted, that all duties collected in the colonies should be paid into the colonial treasuries, and that the custom-house officers should be appointed by the governors; that no requisitions should be made in time of peace, and that no troops should enter any colony without the consent of its legislature; that in time of war the requisitions should be in proportion to those in Great Britain; that the governors and judges should be appointed during good behaviour, and receive their salaries from the Assemblies; and that Parliament should claim no power over the internal legislation of the colonies. These were the principal points, though there were some others of minor importance.

At the time appointed he met Dr. Fothergill and Mr. Barclay, produced his *Hints*, and explained and defended each article. They objected to some parts, and doubted as to others; yet they thought it worth

while to make the experiment, as a preliminary step towards a negotiation, and asked permission to take copies of his paper, intimating an intention to show it in the ministerial circles. Dr. Fothergill was on terms of intimacy with Lord Dartmouth and some of the other ministers; and Mr. Barclay wished it to be seen by Lord Hyde, with whom he was acquainted. Dr. Franklin, submitting to the discretion of his friends, did not object to this proposal, and two copies were transcribed in the handwriting of Mr. Barclay.

It was now time to fulfil his engagement to Mrs. Howe. He called at her house, but had scarcely entered the room, when she said that her brother, Lord Howe, would be glad to make his acquaintance. He could only reply, that he should be proud of such an honor. "He is just by," said she; "will you give me leave to send for him?" "By all means, Madam," he answered, "if you think proper." She accordingly despatched a message to her brother, who arrived in a few minutes.

His Lordship began the conversation with some polite compliments, and said his particular motive for desiring an interview at this time was the alarming state of American affairs, and that he hoped to obtain Dr. Franklin's sentiments on the best means of reconciling the differences, being persuaded that no other person could do so much towards healing the breach, which threatened the most mischievous consequences, unless some speedy remedy could be applied. A long discourse ensued, in which Lord Howe requested him to put in writing such propositions, as he conceived would lead to a good understanding between the two countries, which they might consider at another interview. This he agreed to undertake.

According to his promise, he had communicated to

Lord Chatham the late American papers which he had received; and he went a week afterwards to Hayes, where he was extremely gratified with the manner in which that great man spoke of the proceedings of the Congress. "They had acted," he said, "with so much temper, moderation, and wisdom, that he thought it the most honorable assembly of statesmen since those of the ancient Greeks and Romans in the most virtuous times." He professed a warm regard for the Americans, and hearty wishes for their prosperity, and added, that when Parliament assembled he should have something to offer, upon which he should previously want Dr. Franklin's sentiments.

On his way home he passed the night with Lord Camden, at Chislehurst. This nobleman agreed entirely with Lord Chatham in his opinion of Congress, and of the transactions in America.

He returned to town in time to meet Lord Howe according to appointment, but was obliged to apologize for not being ready with his propositions. Lord Howe said, he could now assure him, that both Lord North and Lord Dartmouth were sincerely disposed to an accommodation. He then asked Dr. Franklin what he thought of a project for sending over a commissioner empowered to inquire into the grievances of the Americans, and to agree with them upon some mode of reconciliation. Franklin seemed to approve the idea. Mrs. Howe was present. "I wish, brother," said she, "you were to be sent thither on such a service; I should like that much better than General Howe's going to command the army there." "I think, Madam," replied Franklin, "they ought to provide for General Howe some more honorable employment." Lord Howe then drew out a paper, which proved to

be a copy of the *Hints*, in David Barclay's handwriting. He remarked, that these terms were so hard, as to afford little hope of their being obtained, and he begged Dr. Franklin to turn his thoughts to another plan.

To satisfy his Lordship, he consented to make a second trial; but he confessed, that he did not think he should produce any thing more acceptable. He drew up a series of propositions, founded mainly on the petition of Congress to the King, and such other papers as Congress had published. He sent the propositions to Lord Howe, and both these and the *Hints* were communicated to some of the ministers, to Lord Hyde, and to a few other persons of high political standing.

Soon afterwards he was informed by Lord Stanhope, that Lord Chatham would offer a motion to the House of Lords the following day, and desired his attendance. The next morning, January 20th, he likewise received a message from Lord Chatham, telling him, that if he would be in the lobby at two o'clock, he would introduce him. "I attended," says Dr. Franklin, "and met him there accordingly. On my mentioning to him what Lord Stanhope had written to me, he said, 'Certainly; and I shall do it with the more pleasure, as I am sure your being present at this day's debate will be of more service to America than mine;' and so taking me by the arm was leading me along the passage to the door that enters near the throne, when one of the door-keepers followed, and acquainted him, that, by the order, none were to be carried in at that door but the eldest sons or brothers of peers; on which he limped back with me to the door near the bar, where were standing a number of gentlemen, waiting for the peers who

were to introduce them, and some peers waiting for friends they expected to introduce; among whom he delivered me to the door-keepers, saying aloud, 'This is Dr. Franklin, whom I would have admitted into the House;' when they readily opened the door for me accordingly. As it had not been publicly known, that there was any communication between his Lordship and me, this, I found, occasioned some speculation." Lord Chatham moved, that the troops should be withdrawn from Boston. This gave rise to a warm debate, in which the motion was ably and eloquently sustained by the mover and Lord Camden, but it was lost by a large majority.

In the course of his remarks Lord Chatham mentioned, that this motion was introductory to a general plan for a reconciliation, which he proposed to lay before Parliament. This was the subject, in regard to which he had before intimated to Dr. Franklin that he should want his advice and assistance. A week after the debate on the motion, he spent a day with his Lordship, who showed him the outlines of his plan, and asked his opinion and observations upon all its principal points. Lord Chatham next called at his lodgings in town, and passed nearly two hours with him on the same business. The draft of his plan was now completed, and he left a copy of it with Dr. Franklin, requesting him to consider it maturely, and suggest any alterations or additions that might occur to him. He made another visit to Hayes, where the plan was again discussed, and the work was finished.

He did not approve the plan in all its parts, nor believe it would be acceptable to the colonies; and he freely stated his objections. But it was necessary to conform in some degree to the prejudices prevailing in Parliament, or there would be no hope of gain-

ing the attention of that body to any propositions; and Lord Chatham himself did not suppose, that, in any event, his plan would be adopted precisely as he should present it. His aim was to open the way to an accommodation, and amendments might be introduced in its progress through the House. Little else was to be expected, than that it might serve as the basis of a treaty. And in the mean time, before it passed, the Americans would have an opportunity of knowing what it was, and of making objections and propositions.

This plan was submitted to the House of Lords, in the form of a bill, on the 1st of February. Lord Stanhope, at the request of Lord Chatham, accompanied Dr. Franklin to the House, and procured him admittance. The House was very full. Lord Chatham exerted all his powers of eloquence and argument in support of his plan. It was vehemently assailed by the ministers and their adherents; and was defended by the Dukes of Richmond and Manchester, Lord Shelburne, Lord Camden, Lord Temple, and others. The ministerial influence was so great, however, that it was not even allowed to lie on the table for future consideration, but was rejected by a majority of two to one.

The speech of Lord Sandwich was passionate and abusive. He could not believe, he said, that the bill proceeded from a British peer; it was more likely the work of some American; and, turning towards Dr. Franklin, who was leaning on the bar, said "he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known." In reply to this illiberal insinuation, Lord Chatham "declared, that it was entirely his own; a declaration he thought himself the

more obliged to make, as many of their Lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it; for, if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. That it had been heretofore reckoned his vice, not to be apt to take advice; but he made no scruple to declare, that, if he were the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one, he was pleased to say, whom all Europe held in high estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature!"

After this proceeding, Dr. Franklin did not expect to hear any thing more of proposals for a negotiation; but, a day or two after, he was again invited by Dr. Fothergill and Mr. Barclay to meet and consult with them on the subject of the *Hints*. It appears that conferences had been held about them; and these gentlemen handed him a paper, which purported to come from high authority, and in which some of his articles were approved, and others rejected or modified. He read the paper and agreed to consider it. His opinion of its contents may be drawn from his remarks on this interview.

"We had not at this time," he says, "a great deal of conversation upon these points; for I shortened it by observing, that, while the Parliament claimed and exercised a power of altering our constitutions at pleasure, there could be no agreement; for we were rendered unsafe in every privilege we had a right

to, and were secure in nothing. And, it being hinted how necessary an agreement was for America, since it was so easy for Britain to burn all our seaport towns, I grew warm, said that the chief part of my little property consisted of houses in those towns; that they might make bonfires of them whenever they pleased; that the fear of losing them would never alter my resolution to resist to the last that claim of Parliament; and that it behoved this country to take care what mischief it did us; for that, sooner or later, it would certainly be obliged to make good all damages with interest!"

The negotiation continued thus informally for some time longer. Another paper was produced, which was understood to come from the ministry, and various efforts were made to induce Dr. Franklin to relax from some of his terms. But all the proposed modifications seemed to him of intrinsic importance, and such as his countrymen would not and ought not to accept. Several conferences followed, in some of which Lord Howe and Lord Hyde took a part. It turned out, that Lord Howe had conceived a strong desire to be sent over to America as a commissioner; and this explains the warm interest he took in the subject, as well as the contrivance of his sister to bring him acquainted with Dr. Franklin, in a way that should not excite a suspicion of her motives. Governor Pownall had formed a similar project for himself; and it is probable, that the ministry seriously thought of this step, if they could obtain such propositions from Dr. Franklin, as would afford a reasonable prospect of accomplishing their wishes; it being supposed, that he would express the sentiments of the Americans on all the essential points of difference. When they ascertained the extent of his claims, and

found him unyielding, the scheme was abandoned. And, indeed, before the negotiation was at an end, he became tired of it himself, believing it utterly fruitless; and he said, if any thing more was to be done, the ministers ought to be directly concerned in it, and there should be a full understanding of the dispositions and designs of both parties.

Whatever may be thought of this negotiation as an affair of diplomacy, or of the aims of those connected with it on the British side, there can be but one opinion as to the manner in which it was conducted by Franklin. It was creditable to his patriotism and sagacity. He had been absent ten years from America, and could know the opinions and feelings of his countrymen only from the reports of their proceedings and published papers. He was beyond the reach of the enthusiasm naturally inspired by a union of numbers in defending rights and resisting oppression; yet no American could have placed the demands of the colonies on a broader foundation, or supported them with a more ardent zeal, or insisted on them with a more determined resolution.

These transactions detained him longer in England than he had expected. He was now ready for his departure, and he received a message from Dr. Fothergill for their mutual friends in Philadelphia. "Tell them," said he, "that, whatever specious pretences are offered, they are all hollow." Dr. Fothergill was as much disgusted, as disappointed, with the ministerial manœuvres, which he had discovered in the course of the late negotiation.

The day before Franklin left London, he wrote as follows to Arthur Lee. "I leave directions with Mrs. Stevenson to deliver to you all the Massachusetts papers, when you please to call for them. I am sorry

that the hurry of preparing for my voyage, and the many hindrances I have met with, prevented my meeting with you and Mr. Bollan, and conversing a little more on our affairs, before my departure. I wish to both of you health and happiness, and shall be glad to hear from you by every opportunity. I shall let you know how I find things in America. I may possibly return again in the autumn, but you will, if you think fit, continue henceforth the agent for Massachusetts, an office which I cannot again undertake." In a letter to a friend on the continent, he likewise mentions it as probable that he should return in the autumn. But he did not then foresee the memorable day at Lexington, which occurred a month afterwards, nor the new scene of action that awaited him on the other side of the Atlantic. He sailed from England on the 21st of March, 1775, and arrived at Philadelphia on the 5th of May, employing himself during a long voyage in writing an account of his recent attempts to establish peace and harmony between the two countries; but this paper was not published till after his death.

He also made experiments with a thermometer, to ascertain the temperature of the ocean in different places, by which he found that the water in the Gulf Stream is warmer than the sea on each side of it. This result, which he considered "a valuable philosophical discovery," was confirmed by similar experiments repeated in two other voyages. His inference was, that the body of water, constituting the Gulf Stream, retains a portion of its warmth while it passes from the tropics to the northern seas, thus affording seamen the means of knowing when they are in the Stream by the temperature of the water. By the same warmth, as he supposed, the air above is rare-

fied and rendered lighter; currents of wind flow in from opposite directions, and produce the tornadoes and water-spouts so common over the Gulf Stream in southern latitudes. Further north, the warm air mingles with the cold, and is condensed into the fogs which prevail so remarkably on the Banks of Newfoundland.

CHAPTER IX.

Chosen a Member of Congress. — Proceedings of Congress. — Preparations for Military Defence. — Petition to the King. — Franklin assists in preparing for the Defence of Pennsylvania, as a Member of the Committee of Safety. — Drafts a Plan of Confederation. — His Services in Congress. — Goes to the Camp at Cambridge on a Committee from Congress. — Chosen a Member of the Pennsylvania Assembly. — Writes Letters to Europe for the Committee of Secret Correspondence. — His Journey to Canada as a Commissioner from Congress. — Declaration of Independence. — Anecdotes. — President of the Convention of Pennsylvania for forming a Constitution. — His Opinion of a Single Legislative Assembly. — Opposes the Practice of voting by States in Congress. — His Correspondence with Lord Howe, and Interview with him on Staten Island. — Appointed a Commissioner to the Court of Versailles. — Lends Money to Congress.

THE next day after his arrival, Dr. Franklin was unanimously chosen by the Assembly of Pennsylvania a delegate to the second Continental Congress, which was to meet at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. At this time the whole country was thrown into a state of extreme agitation by the news of the conflict at Lexington and Concord, in which the British troops were the aggressors. The yeomanry of New England, as if moved by a simultaneous impulse, seized their arms, and hastened to the scene of action. The indignation of the people was everywhere roused to the highest pitch, and the cry of war resounded from one end of the continent to the other. A few days after he landed, Dr. Franklin wrote as follows to Dr. Priestley.

"You will have heard, before this reaches you, of a march stolen by the regulars into the country by night, and of their *expedition* back again. They retreated twenty miles in six hours. The governor had called the Assembly to propose Lord North's pacific plan,

but, before the time of their meeting, began cutting of throats. You know it was said he carried the sword in one hand, and the olive branch in the other; and it seems he chose to give them a taste of the sword first. He is doubling his fortifications at Boston, and hopes to secure his troops till succour arrives. The place indeed is naturally so defensible, that I think them in no danger. All America is exasperated by his conduct, and more firmly united than ever. The breach between the two countries is grown wider, and in danger of becoming irreparable."

When the second Congress assembled, the relations between the colonies and Great Britain had assumed a new character. The blood of American freemen had been shed on their own soil by a wanton exercise of military power, and they were regarded as having fallen martyrs in the cause of liberty. This rash act dissolved the charm, which had hitherto bound the affections of many a conscientious American to the British crown, under the long revered name of loyalty. It was evident to every reflecting man, that the hour of trial had come, that a degrading submission, or a triumph of strength, in a hard and unequal struggle, was the only alternative. A large majority of the nation and of Congress were ready to meet the contest by prompt and decided measures of resistance, convinced that any further attempts for a reconciliation would be utterly unavailing. Among the foremost of this number was Franklin. Yet there were some, whose fears ran before their hopes; and others, whose interests outweighed their patriotism. Many of the timid were good patriots, but they dreaded the gigantic power of England, which they believed to be irresistible.

After an animated debate, which continued several

days, it was declared that hostilities had commenced, on the part of Great Britain, with the design of enforcing "the unconstitutional and oppressive acts of Parliament"; and it was then resolved, with great unanimity, that the colonies should be immediately put in a state of defence. This was all, that the most ardent friends of liberty desired, since it enabled them to organize an army and make preparations for war. Having gained this point, they were the more ready to yield another, for the sake of harmony, to the moderate party, at the head of which was John Dickinson. It was urged by this party, that they never had anticipated resistance by force, but had always confided so much in the justice of the British government, as to believe, that, when they fairly understood the temper and equitable claims of the colonists, they would come to a reasonable compromise. Another opportunity, it was said, ought to be offered, and to this end they were strenuous for sending a petition to the King.

The party in favor of energetic action represented the inconsistency and futility of this step. To take up arms and then petition was an absurdity. It could do little harm, however, since it would not retard the military operations; and, as to the petition itself, there was not the least likelihood that his Majesty would pay any more attention to it, than he had paid to the one sent to him the year before, which he treated with contempt. The dignity of Congress would suffer a little, to be sure, by again resorting to a petition, after being thus slighted; yet this was a small sacrifice to make, if it would produce union and concert in affairs of greater moment. Besides, it was supposed that there were tender consciences in the country, which would be better reconciled to the strong measures of

Congress, if accompanied by this appeal, as from loyal subjects.

Franklin was on the committee for reporting a draft, which would seem to imply that he did not resist the proposal; but how far he actually approved it, is uncertain. In writing to a friend he said; "It has been with difficulty, that we have carried another humble petition to the crown, to give Great Britain one more chance, one opportunity more, of recovering the friendship of the colonies; which, however, I think she has not sense enough to embrace, and so I conclude she has lost them for ever." Mr. Jay was likewise a member of the committee, and was in favor of the petition. But its most zealous advocate was John Dickinson, by whom it was drafted. It has been said, indeed, that this token of humility was yielded mainly to gratify his wishes. The uprightness of his character, his singleness of heart, and the great services he had rendered to his country by his talents and his pen, claimed for him especial consideration. The tone and language of the petition were sufficiently submissive, and it stands in remarkable contrast, in the Journals, with other papers, and the resolves for warlike preparations. Mr. Jefferson tells us, that Mr. Dickinson was so much pleased when it was adopted by a vote of the House, that he could not forbear to express his satisfaction by saying; "There is but one word, Mr. President, in the paper, which I disapprove, and that word is *Congress*." Whereupon Mr. Harrison of Virginia rose and said; "There is but one word in the paper, Mr. President, which I approve, and that word is *Congress*."

In addition to his duties in Congress, Dr. Franklin had a very laborious service to perform as chairman of the Committee of Safety, appointed by the Assem-

bly of Pennsylvania. This committee consisted of twenty-five members. They were authorized to call the militia into actual service, whenever they should judge it necessary, to pay and furnish them with supplies, and to provide for the defence of the province. Bills of credit, to the amount of thirty-five thousand pounds, were issued and put into their hands, to pay the expenses incurred for these objects. This was a highly responsible and important trust. Franklin labored in it incessantly during eight months, till he was called away upon another service. "My time," says he, "was never more fully employed; in the morning at six, I am at the Committee of Safety, which committee holds till near nine, when I am at Congress, and that sits till after four in the afternoon. Both these bodies proceed with the greatest unanimity." The attention of the committee was especially directed to the protection of the city, by sinking chevaux-de-frise in the Delaware, constructing and manning armed boats, and erecting fortifications. These works were executed with surprising despatch, and so effectually, that, when the enemy's fleet entered the river, after the battle of the Brandywine, it was retarded by them nearly two months.

While thus actively engaged, Dr. Franklin drew up and presented to Congress, on the 21st of July, a plan of confederation. It was not acted upon at that time, but it served as a basis for a more extended plan, when Congress were better prepared to consider the subject. In some of its articles it differed essentially from the one that was finally adopted, and approached more nearly to the present constitution. Taxes for national purposes were to be levied, and members of Congress were to be chosen, in proportion to the number of male inhabitants between the

ages of sixteen and sixty; and each member was to have one vote in Congress. Taken in all its parts, this plan was little else than a virtual declaration of independence. It was to be perpetual, unless the British government should agree to such terms of reconciliation, as had been claimed by the colonies.*

The postoffice establishment, which had existed under the British government, was broken up by the disorders of the times. Congress made provision for a new one, and appointed Dr. Franklin postmaster-general, with a salary of one thousand dollars a year. The entire management of the business was put under his control, with power to establish such post routes, and appoint as many deputies, as he should think proper.

For several months the proceedings of Congress turned mostly on military affairs. An army was to be raised, organized, and provided for. The wisdom, experience, and mental resources of every member were in as much demand, as diligence, resolution, zeal, and public spirit. We find Franklin, notwithstanding his advanced age, taking a part in almost every important measure with all the ardor and activity of youth. He was placed at the head of the Commissioners for Indian affairs in the middle department; and few of the younger members served on so many committees requiring energy, industry, and close application. Among these were the committees for devising ways and means to protect the commerce of the colonies, for

* This plan of confederation was published, and it was soon after reprinted in England, as an appendix to the seventh edition of a popular pamphlet, entitled "The Rights of Great Britain asserted against the Claims of America." The author speaks of it as an additional proof of the "*real designs* of the Americans." He had been industrious in searching for such proofs, which constitute the principal burden of his pamphlet.

reporting on the state of trade in America and on Lord North's motion in Parliament, for employing packet ships and disposing of captured vessels, for establishing a war-office, for drawing up a plan of treaties to be proposed to foreign powers, for preparing the device of a national seal, and many others.

A Secret Committee was appointed, of which he was a member. At first, it was the province of this committee to import ammunition, cannon, and muskets; but its powers and duties were enlarged, so as to include the procuring of all kinds of military supplies, and the distributing of them to the troops, the Continental armed vessels, and privateers, and also the manufacturing of saltpetre and gunpowder. The country was alarmingly deficient in all these articles; and it was necessary to procure them from abroad by contracts with foreign merchants, and to have them shipped as secretly as possible, that they might not be intercepted and captured by the enemy. Remittances were made in tobacco and other produce, either directly or through such channels as would render them available for the payments.

As soon as Congress had determined to raise an army, and had appointed a commander-in-chief and the other principal officers, they applied themselves to the business of finance, and emitted two millions of dollars in bills of credit. This was the beginning of the Continental paper-money system. Dr. Franklin entered deeply into the subject, but he did not altogether approve the principle upon which the bills were emitted. He proposed that they should bear interest, but this was rejected. After the first emission, he recommended that the bills already in circulation should be borrowed on interest, instead of issuing a larger quantity. This plan was not followed at the

time, but, when the bills began to sink in value, it was resorted to, and he then proposed to pay the interest in hard dollars, which would be likely to fix the value of the principal. This was deemed impracticable, although Congress came into the proposal afterwards; but not till it was too late to check the rapid progress of depreciation.

The army at Cambridge, employed in besieging the British forces in Boston, was adopted by Congress as a Continental army before General Washington took the command. This army would cease to exist at the end of the year, by the expiration of the periods for which the soldiers were enlisted. Thus the arduous task of organizing and recruiting a new army devolved on the Commander-in-chief. To assist him in this work, Congress deputed three of their body, Dr. Franklin, Thomas Lynch, and Benjamin Harrison, to proceed to the camp, and confer with him on the most efficient mode of continuing and supporting a Continental army. They met at head-quarters, on the 18th of October, where they were joined by delegates from each of the New England governments. The conference lasted several days, and such a system was matured, as was satisfactory to General Washington, and as proved effectual in attaining the object.*

* See an account of these proceedings in Sparks's edition of *Washington's Writings*, Vol. III. p. 133.

It was probably about this time, that Dr. Franklin drew up the following resolves, which have been found in his handwriting. It is uncertain whether they were adopted in Congress, but they were published, except the last paragraph, with considerable modifications, and were reprinted in England.

"*Resolved*, that, from and after the 20th of July, 1776, being one full year after the day appointed by a late act of the Parliament of Great Britain for restraining the trade of the confederate colonies, all the custom-houses in the said colonies shall be shut up, and all the officers of the same be discharged from the exercise of their sev-

Some time before, Dr. Franklin had received the sum of one hundred pounds sterling, sent to him by benevolent persons in England, as a donation for the relief of those, who had been wounded in the encounters with the British troops on the day of their march to Lexington and Concord, and of the widows and children of such as had been slain. While he was in the camp at Cambridge, he paid this money over to a committee of the Massachusetts Assembly.

During his absence, the Assembly of Pennsylvania met, and by the returns of the election it appeared that he had been chosen a representative for the city of Philadelphia. He was now a member of three public bodies, which convened daily for business, that is, Congress, the Assembly, and the Committee of Safety; but he usually attended in Congress whenever the times of meeting interfered with each other.

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eral functions; and all the ports of the said colonies are hereby declared to be thenceforth open to the ships of every State in Europe, that will admit our commerce and protect it, who may bring in and expose to sale, free of all duties, their respective produce and manufactures, and every kind of merchandise, excepting teas and the merchandise of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West India Islands.

"*Resolved*, that we will, to the utmost of our power, maintain and support the freedom of commerce for two years certain, after its commencement, and as much longer as the late acts of Parliament for restraining the commerce and fishery, and altering the laws and charters of any of the colonies, shall continue unrepealed.

"And whereas, whenever kings, instead of protecting the lives and properties of their subjects, as is their bounden duty, do endeavour to perpetrate the destruction of either, they thereby cease to be kings, become tyrants, and dissolve all ties of allegiance between themselves and their people; we hereby further solemnly declare, that, whenever it shall appear clearly to us, that the King's troops and ships now in America, or hereafter to be brought there, do, *by his Majesty's orders*, destroy any town or the inhabitants of any town or place in America, or that the savages have been by the same orders hired to assassinate our poor out-settlers and their families, we will from that time renounce all allegiance to Great Britain, so long as that kingdom shall submit to him, or any of his descendants, as its sovereign."

As soon as Congress had put their military affairs in train, they began to think of foreign alliances. On the 29th of November, they appointed a *Committee of Secret Correspondence*, for the purpose of establishing and keeping up an intercourse with the friends of the American cause in England, Ireland, and other parts of Europe. Dr. Franklin's long residence abroad, his extensive acquaintance with men of character there, and his knowledge of their political sentiments, naturally qualified him for acting a principal part in this committee. He wrote letters to some of his friends in Europe, on whose discretion and fidelity he could rely, requesting them to watch the current of events, and the tendency of public opinion, in regard to the American controversy; to ascertain, as far as it could be done, the designs of men in power, and to communicate intelligence on these points for the use of Congress. To Mr. Dumas, at the Hague, whom he had known in Holland, he sent particular instructions, investing him, in the name of the committee, with certain powers as a political agent, by which he was authorized and desired to seek opportunities for discovering, through the ambassadors at that place, the disposition of the European courts and the probability of their rendering assistance to the Americans. Mr. Dumas accepted this commission and executed it faithfully. He continued in the service of the United States throughout the Revolution, and for some years afterwards.

From the beginning of the contest, many efforts had been made to induce the Canadians to join the other colonies; and it was proposed to them, that they should send delegates to Congress. A hope of this union was entertained for a time, but it was finally disappointed. The hostile attitude, in which the Canadi-

ans and English colonists had been placed towards each other on various occasions, in addition to the inherited national antipathy on both sides, had produced an alienation, which could not easily be softened into a fraternal fellowship; and the obstacles were multiplied by religious animosities. In the first year of the war, while the Americans had an army in Canada, there was some show of a party in their favor; but this party was by no means an index of the popular will or feeling, and it soon dwindled away and disappeared.

The military successes, which had put nearly the whole of Canada into the possession of the Americans, terminated with the fall of Montgomery under the walls of Quebec. More troops were sent forward in the heart of winter; but, when the spring opened, reinforcements arrived from England, threatening disaster and defeat to the American army. At this juncture Congress appointed commissioners to go to Canada, with full powers to regulate the operations of the army, and especially to assist the Canadians in forming a civil government, and to pledge all the support and protection that could be rendered by the united colonies. Dr. Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, were selected for this mission. Mr. John Carroll, a Catholic clergyman, afterwards Archbishop of Baltimore, was invited to accompany them. He had been educated in France, and it was supposed that this circumstance, added to his religious profession and character, would enable him to exercise a salutary influence with the priests in Canada, who were known to control the people. Among other things a printing-press was to be established, and Mesplet, a French printer, was engaged to undertake this business, with a promise that his expenses should be paid.

The commissioners left Philadelphia about the 20th

of March, 1776, but they did not reach Montreal till near the end of April. The badness of the roads at that season of the year, and the obstruction to navigation in Lake Champlain, occasioned by the broken ice, retarded their progress, and made their journey tedious and toilsome. And, after all, the commission produced very little effect. The American army had already begun its retreat from Quebec, pursued by an enemy superior in numbers, well disciplined, and amply supplied. In this state of affairs it was not to be expected, that the Canadians would venture upon the hazardous experiment of setting up a new government, and joining the colonies, even if they had been previously inclined to take such a step. But, in reality, a few individuals excepted, they never had been thus inclined. Intelligence, a knowledge of their rights, love of freedom, liberal sentiments, and a spirit of enterprise, were elements requisite for a political change, which they did not possess.

Dr. Franklin's health was much impaired by the hardships of the journey. He had been exposed to the inclemency of the weather, and in some parts of the route he was obliged to lodge in the woods. He stayed a fortnight at Montreal, and then, in company with Mr. John Carroll, he set out on his way homeward, leaving the other commissioners behind, who remained in Canada till near the time it was evacuated by the American troops. With some difficulty he proceeded to Albany. From that place to New York he was conveyed in a private carriage, with which he had been accommodated by the kindness of General Schuyler. He arrived at Philadelphia early in June. The most agreeable incident during this tour was a visit to his old friend, Dr. John Bard, with whom he had been long and intimately acquainted in Philadel-

phia, but who had removed some years before to New York, and had lately given up his business, and sought retirement at his beautiful seat on the banks of the Hudson at Hyde Park; a man distinguished for skill in his profession, his respectable character, and all the estimable qualities, which adorn private life.

Before he left home, Dr. Franklin had withdrawn from the Assembly and Committee of Safety, not knowing how long he should be absent, and deeming it improper to hold public stations the duties of which he could not discharge. In his letter of resignation he said; "I am extremely sensible of the honor done me by my fellow citizens, in choosing me their representative in Assembly, and of that lately conferred on me by the House, in appointing me one of the Committee of Safety for this province, and a delegate in Congress.* It would be a happiness to me, if I could serve the public duly in all those stations; but, aged as I now am, I feel myself unequal to so much business, and on that account think it my duty to decline a part of it. I hope, therefore, that the House will be so good as to accept my excuse for not attending as a member of the present Assembly, and, if they think fit, give orders for the election of another in my place, that the city may be more completely represented. I request, also, that the House would be pleased to dispense with my further attendance as one of the Committee of Safety." On his return, therefore, he was at liberty to give his undivided attention to the national counsels in Congress. He was chosen a member of one of the committees, which assembled in June from the several counties of

* The allusion here is to his second appointment to these two offices.

Pennsylvania, for the purpose of deliberating on the mode of summoning a convention to form a new constitution; but the conference was short, and, if he attended at all, he took little part in the proceedings.

A subject of the greatest importance was now brought before Congress. For some months past, there had been much discussion in the newspapers, in pamphlets, and at public meetings, as well as in private circles, about independence. It was evident, that a large majority of the nation was prepared for that measure. At length the legislature of Virginia instructed their delegates to propose it in Congress. This was done by Richard Henry Lee; and a debate ensued, which elicited the opinions of the prominent members. All agreed, that, sooner or later, this ground must be taken; but a few believed that the time had not yet come. Among the doubters was the virtuous, the patriotic, the able, but irresolute John Dickinson. His objections, and those of his party, were met by the fervid zeal and powerful arguments of John Adams, the persuasive eloquence of Lee, and the concurring voice of many others. On this side was Franklin, whose sentiments have been sufficiently indicated in the preceding pages. A committee of five was chosen to prepare a Declaration, consisting of Jefferson, John Adams, Franklin, Sherman, and Livingston. The history of this transaction is too well known to need a repetition of it in this place. The Declaration, drafted by Jefferson, was reported as it came from his pen, except a few verbal alterations suggested by Adams and Franklin. It was debated three days, and passed on the 4th of July, when the United States were declared to be, and became in fact, an independent nation.

Mr. Jefferson relates a characteristic anecdote of

Franklin, connected with this subject. Being annoyed at the alterations made in his draft, while it was under discussion, and at the censures freely bestowed upon parts of it, he began to fear it would be dissected and mangled till a skeleton only would remain. "I was sitting," he observes, "by Dr. Franklin, who perceived that I was not insensible to these mutilations. 'I have made it a rule,' said he, 'whenever in my power, to avoid becoming the draftsman of papers to be reviewed by a public body. I took my lesson from an incident, which I will relate to you. When I was a journeyman printer, one of my companions, an apprentice hatter, having served out his time, was about to open shop for himself. His first concern was to have a handsome sign-board, with a proper inscription. He composed it in these words, *John Thompson, Hatter, makes and sells Hats for ready Money*, with a figure of a hat subjoined. But he thought he would submit it to his friends for their amendments. The first he showed it to, thought the word *hatter* tautologous, because followed by the words *makes hats*, which showed he was a hatter. It was struck out. The next observed, that the word *makes* might as well be omitted, because his customers would not care who made the hats; if good and to their mind, they would buy, by whomsoever made. He struck it out. A third said he thought the words *for ready money* were useless, as it was not the custom of the place to sell on credit. Every one, who purchased, expected to pay. They were parted with; and the inscription now stood, "John Thompson sells hats." "*Sells* hats?" says his next friend; "why, nobody will expect you to give them away. What then is the use of that word?" It was stricken out, and *hats* followed, the rather, as there was one painted on the board.

So his inscription was reduced ultimately to *John Thompson*, with the figure of a hat subjoined.'" *

There is also another anecdote related of Franklin, respecting an incident which took place when the members were about to sign the Declaration. "We must be unanimous," said Hancock; "there must be no pulling different ways; we must all hang together." "Yes," replied Franklin, "we must, indeed, all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Nearly two months before the declaration of independence, Congress had recommended that new systems of government should be framed and adopted by the representatives of the people, in the colonies where a change was required by the exigencies of their affairs. In conformity with this recommendation, delegates from the counties of Pennsylvania met in convention at Philadelphia, about the middle of July, to form a constitution. Dr. Franklin was chosen president. The convention sat more than two months, but the President was occasionally absent in Congress. The part he actually took in framing the constitution is not known, but it has generally been supposed, that its principles were approved by him. This opinion is in some degree confirmed by his having defended it late in life, when a change was contemplated. Rotation of office was one of its provisions; and the right of suffrage, the freedom of the press, and religious toleration were secured on the most liberal scale.

He is reported to have been the author of the most remarkable feature in this constitution, that is, a sin-

* See a letter from Mr. Jefferson in the first number of Walsh's *National Gazette*.

gle legislative Assembly, instead of two branches, which other statesmen have considered preferable, and which have since been adopted in all the States of the Union, as well as in other countries where the experiment of popular forms has been tried. There is no doubt that this was a favorite theory with him, because he explained and gave his reasons for it on another occasion. The perpetual conflict between the two branches under the proprietary government of Pennsylvania, in which the best laws, after having been passed by the representatives of the people, were constantly defeated by the veto of the Governor and Council, seems to have produced a strong impression on his mind. He also referred to the British Parliament as a proof, that the voice of the people, expressed by their representatives, is often silenced by an order of men in the legislature, who have interests to serve distinct from those of the body of the nation. In his opinion, the collected wisdom of the law-makers could be turned to a better account by their meeting in one assembly, where they could profit by each other's intelligence and counsels. He disapproved, also, of the distinctions of rank incident to two assemblies, one being called the *Upper* and the other the *Lower* House, as having an aristocratical tendency, unfavorable to the liberty and equality, which are the essence of republican institutions.

The point is said to have been carried in the convention by a brief speech from the President, who compared a legislature with two branches to a loaded wagon with a team at each end, pulling in opposite directions. At another time, in referring to the same subject, he illustrated it by what he called the fable of the snake with two heads and one body. "She was going to a brook to drink, and in her way was

to pass through a hedge, a twig of which opposed her direct course; one head chose to go on the right side of the twig, the other on the left; so that time was spent in the contest, and, before the decision was completed, the poor snake died with thirst."

This theory of a single assembly has been combated by able writers. Mr. Adams has encountered it with great force in his "Defence of the American Constitutions," and appears to have exhausted the subject, as far as it could be done by argument and historical proofs. It found advocates in France, and was extolled by such men as Turgot, Condorcet, and La Rochefoucauld. These philosophers saw in it the perfection of simplicity, by which the machine of government was divested of the numerous clogs and counterpoises, which had hitherto obstructed its free and natural movements. "Franklin," says La Rochefoucauld, "was the first who dared to put this idea in practice. The respect, which the Pennsylvanians entertained for him, induced them to adopt it; but the other States were terrified at it, and even the constitution of Pennsylvania has since been altered. In Europe this opinion has been more successful." This was said, after the National Assembly of France had adopted the constitution, in which the idea was again put in practice, as much by his influence as by that of any other individual. It speedily crumbled and fell, involving in its ruins, among others, the amiable La Rochefoucauld himself, the friend of liberty and the friend of man. The experiment of a single assembly in France was not such as to encourage imitation, and in America even the theory has been exploded.

By a rule of the first Congress, which was continued afterwards till the constitution of the United States went into operation, each Colony or State had a sin-

gle vote. When the delegates assembled for the first time, it was found that the colonies were very unequally represented, and, if a vote had been allowed to each member, an undue preponderance would have been given to the colonies which sent the largest numbers; for it had not been attempted at the elections to regulate the number of delegates by the relative importance of a colony, either in regard to the amount of its population, its extent, or wealth. Nor was it possible at that time for Congress to fix any such proportion. From the necessity of the case, therefore, it was agreed, that each colony should have one vote. When the delegates from any colony were not unanimous, the vote was decided by a majority of those delegates; if they were equally divided, the vote was lost.

A few days after the declaration of independence, a plan of confederation was reported to Congress, and this provision of a single vote for each State constituted one of its articles. Franklin opposed it strenuously in the debates, as unjust and preposterous, since it gave to the smallest State the same power as to the largest. He said, that, if the practice had heretofore been necessary, it was no longer so, because it was easy to ascertain the comparative importance of the States, and to adjust the representation according to the number of inhabitants, and the degree of strength afforded by them respectively to the united body; and that each delegate ought to have a vote in Congress. Moreover, this method of voting by States had a mischievous effect in another point of view. The delegates acted as representatives of States, and not of the people, and were naturally biased by local partialities and a tenacious adherence to State rights, which it was extremely desirable to keep out of sight at this

time of common peril and calamity, and even for ever, if it was intended to strengthen and perpetuate the union.

So lively an interest did he take in this subject, and so strongly was he convinced that the system of representation must be equitably balanced, before any hope of a lasting union could be entertained, that, while the convention of Pennsylvania was sitting, he drew up a *Protest*, containing the principal arguments against the plan of voting by States, which was designed to be presented by the convention to Congress, as affording the reasons why Pennsylvania could not enter into the confederation, if this article were retained. He was dissuaded from endeavouring to carry it through, however, on account of the critical situation of the country, at a time when harmony between the parts was essential to the safety of the whole. The evil was left to encumber and obstruct the operations of government, and impede the prosperity of the nation, till it was remedied by the Federal Constitution.

From the King's speech at the opening of Parliament it appeared, that he contemplated sending out commissioners to America, with power to grant pardon to such persons as they should think fit, and to receive the submission of such as should be disposed to return to their allegiance. In the early part of the session, Lord North brought forward his *Prohibitory Bill*, interdicting all trade and intercourse with the colonies. By an awkward association, he incorporated into this bill a provision for appointing commissioners to effect the object mentioned in the King's speech.

In the spring of 1776, the main body of the American army under General Washington was stationed at New York. General Howe arrived there with his army from Halifax in June, and he was soon after

joined by his brother, Lord Howe, at the head of a fleet with troops from Europe. The two brothers had been appointed commissioners. Lord Howe immediately sent on shore a despatch, containing a circular letter to the colonial governors, and a "Declaration," stating the nature of his mission and his powers, and requesting that the declaration should be published. The commissioners were not instructed to negotiate with any particular public body. Pardon was offered to all, who should be penitent and submissive; to provinces, towns, assemblies, and individuals. This despatch was conveyed to General Washington, by whom it was forwarded to Congress. It occasioned but little debate. The letter and declaration were directed to be published, "that the few," as expressed in the resolve, "who still remain suspended by a hope, founded either in the justice or moderation of their late King, may now at length be convinced, that the valor alone of their country is to save its liberties."

Lord Howe likewise wrote a private and friendly letter to Dr. Franklin, evincing respect for his character, and an earnest desire that all the differences between the two countries might be accommodated in the way now proposed. It was answered by Dr. Franklin in a spirit not less friendly and respectful; but, in regard to the public communications, he said, he was sorry to find them of such a nature, since "it must give his Lordship pain to be sent so far on so hopeless a business." After some other remarks, touching the conduct and designs of the ministry, he added;

"Long did I endeavour, with unfeigned and unwearied zeal, to preserve from breaking that fine and noble China vase, the British empire; for I knew, that,

being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their share of the strength or value that existed in the whole, and that a perfect reunion of those parts could scarce ever be hoped for. Your Lordship may possibly remember the tears of joy that wet my cheek, when, at your good sister's in London, you once gave me expectations that a reconciliation might soon take place. I had the misfortune to find those expectations disappointed, and to be treated as the cause of the mischief I was laboring to prevent. My consolation under that groundless and malevolent treatment was, that I retained the friendship of many wise and good men in that country, and, among the rest, some share in the regard of Lord Howe."

The door to a negotiation being closed, the battle of Long Island was fought, in which General Sullivan was taken prisoner. He was conveyed on board Lord Howe's ship, and discharged on parole. Lord Howe intrusted to him a verbal message for Congress, the purport of which was, that he should be glad to confer with some of the members in their private capacity, and would himself meet them in that capacity at such time and place as they might appoint. Congress accordingly deputed three of their number, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, to go and learn what propositions he had to offer. The interview took place, September 11th, at a house within the British lines on Staten Island, opposite to Amboy, where they were politely received and entertained.

His Lordship began the conversation by informing them, that he could not treat with them as a committee of Congress, but that his powers authorized him to confer and consult with any private gentlemen in the colonies on the means of reconciling the differences and restoring peace. The committee replied,

that it was their business to hear what he had to propose; that he might look upon them in what light he chose; that they were, nevertheless, members of Congress, and, being appointed by that body, they must consider themselves in that character. After the conference was ended, the committee passed over to Amboy in Lord Howe's boat, went back to Congress, and reported, that his Lordship had made no explicit proposition for peace, and that, as far as they could discover, his powers did not enable him to do any thing more, than to grant pardon upon submission. This was the last attempt of the commissioners to effect what Mr. Burke called in Parliament an "armed negotiation"; and it would be allowing too little credit to the understanding of the ministers themselves, to suppose that they did not anticipate its failure when they set it on foot.

At this time Congress had under consideration the subject of foreign alliances. The American States being now an independent power, declared to be such by the solemn act of a united people, they might properly assume and maintain this character in relation to other governments. Aids in money and all kinds of military supplies were wanted. Congress had the benefits of a lucrative commerce to offer in exchange. It was decided to make the first application to the court of France, and to proffer a commercial treaty, which should be mutually advantageous to the two countries. The hard terms, which England had extorted from the misfortunes of France in the treaty at the close of the last war, as impolitic on the part of the former as they were humiliating to the latter, afforded but a feeble guaranty of a lasting peace. Time and reflection had increased the discontent, which was manifested by loud complaints when the treaty was

made. It was believed that France, in this temper, would not view with indifference the contest between England and her colonies, nor forego so good an opportunity of contributing to weaken the power of a rival, against whom she had laid up heavy charges for a future adjustment.

Congress deemed it advisable, at all events, to act upon this presumption. They appointed three commissioners, Dr. Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, "to transact the business of the United States at the court of France." They were furnished with the draft of a treaty, credentials, and instructions. The members enjoined secrecy on themselves in regard to these proceedings. Silas Deane was already in France, having been sent thither as a commercial and political agent, instructed to procure munitions of war and forward them to the United States, and to ascertain, as far as he could, the views and disposition of the French court. Arthur Lee was in England. Franklin made immediate preparations for his voyage. He left Philadelphia on the 26th of October, accompanied by two of his grandsons, William Temple Franklin and Benjamin Franklin Bache. They passed the night at Chester, and the next day embarked on board the Continental sloop of war *Reprisal*, carrying sixteen guns, and commanded by Captain Wickes.

As a proof of Franklin's zeal in the cause of his country, and of his confidence in the result, it may be stated, that, before he left Philadelphia, he raised all the money he could command, being between three and four thousand pounds, and placed it as a loan at the disposal of Congress.

CHAPTER X.

Voyage to France. — Arrives at Nantes. — Proceeds to Paris, and takes up his Residence at Passy. — His Reception in France. — Influence of his Name and Character. — Pictures, Busts, and Prints of him. — Interview with Count de Vergennes. — Money obtained from the French Court, and Military Supplies sent to the United States. — Contract with the Farmers-General. — Franklin disapproves the Policy of seeking Alliances with the European Powers. — Lord Stormont. — Application of Foreign Officers for Employment in the American Army. — Lafayette. — Reasons why the French delay to enter into a Treaty with the United States. — Interview with Count de Vergennes on that Subject. — Treaty of Amity and Commerce. — Treaty of Alliance. — Franklin and the other Commissioners introduced at Court.

AFTER a boisterous passage of thirty days from the Capes of Delaware, the *Reprisal* came to anchor in Quiberon Bay, near the mouth of the Loire. While crossing the Gulf Stream, Dr. Franklin repeated the experiments which he had made on his last voyage from England, for ascertaining the temperature of the sea. The result was the same as he had then found it. The water was warmer in the Gulf Stream, than in other parts of the ocean. The sloop was sometimes chased by British cruisers, and Captain Wickes prepared for action; but he had been instructed to avoid an engagement if possible, and to proceed directly to the coast of France. By good management he escaped his pursuers, and no action occurred during the voyage. Two days before he came in sight of land he took two prizes, brigantines, one belonging to Cork, the other to Hull, laden with cargoes obtained in French ports.

The wind being contrary, Captain Wickes could not sail up the river to Nantes, the port to which he was bound. After a detention of four days in Qui-

beron Bay, Dr. Franklin was set on shore with his grandsons at the little town of Auray. Thence he travelled by land to Nantes, a distance of seventy miles, where he arrived on the 7th of December.

His arrival in France was entirely unexpected. The news of his appointment had not preceded him, this having been kept secret in Congress. It was easily conjectured, however, that he would not come so far without being invested with some important public mission, and the friends of America greeted him with cordiality and lively expressions of joy. The event was celebrated by a dinner, at which he was invited to be present, and which was attended by a large number of persons. Fatigued with the voyage and his journey from Auray, he sought repose for a short time at the country-seat of M. Gruel, near the town; but in this retreat many visiters called to see him, as well to testify their personal respect, as to make inquiries concerning the state of affairs in America. From Nantes he wrote as follows to the President of Congress.

"Our voyage, though not long, was rough, and I feel myself weakened by it; but I now recover strength daily, and in a few days shall be able to undertake the journey to Paris. I have not yet taken any public character, thinking it prudent first to know whether the court is ready and willing to receive ministers publicly from the Congress; that we may neither embarrass it on the one hand, nor subject ourselves to the hazard of a disgraceful refusal on the other. I have despatched an express to Mr. Deane, with the letters that I had for him from the Committee, and a copy of our commission, that he may immediately make the proper inquiries, and give me information. In the mean time I find it generally supposed here, that I

am sent to negotiate; and that opinion appears to give great pleasure, if I can judge by the extreme civilities I meet with from numbers of the principal people, who have done me the honor to visit me."

He stayed eight days at Nantes, and then set off for Paris, and reached that city on the 21st of December.* He found Mr. Deane there, and Mr. Lee joined them the next day, so that the commissioners were prepared to enter immediately upon their official duties. Shortly afterwards Dr. Franklin removed to Passy, a pleasant village near Paris, and took lodgings in a commodious house belonging to M. Leray de Chaumont, a zealous friend to the American cause. He remained at that place during the whole of his residence in France.

The intelligence of Franklin's arrival at Paris was immediately published and circulated throughout Europe. His brilliant discoveries in electricity, thirty years before, had made him known as a philosopher wherever science was studied or genius respected. His writings on this subject had already been translated into many languages; and also his *Poor Richard*, and some other miscellaneous pieces, clothed in a style of surpassing simplicity and precision, and abounding in sagacious maxims relating to human affairs and the springs of human action, which are almost without a

* Madame du Deffand says, in a letter dated on the 18th of December; "The object of Dr. Franklin's visit is still problematical; and what is the most singular of all is, that no one can tell whether he is actually in Paris or not. For three or four days it has been said in the morning that he had arrived, and in the evening that he had not yet come." Again, on the 22d, she writes; "Dr. Franklin arrived in town yesterday, at two o'clock in the afternoon; he slept the night before at Versailles. He was accompanied by two of his grandsons, one seven years old, the other seventeen, and by his friend, M. Penet. He has taken lodgings in the Rue de l'Université." — *Lettres de la Marquise du Deffand à Horace Walpole*, Tom. III. p. 343.

parallel in any other writer.* The history of his re cent transactions in England, his bold and uncompro mising defence of his country's rights, his examinatio before Parliament, and the abuse he had received fro the ministers, were known everywhere, and had adde to the fame of a philosopher and philanthropist that o a statesman and patriot. A French historian, of th first celebrity, speaks of him as follows;

"By the effect which Franklin produced in France one might say that he fulfilled his mission, not with court, but with a free people. Diplomatic etiquett did not permit him often to hold interviews with th ministers, but he associated with all the distinguishe personages, who directed public opinion. Men imag ined they saw in him a sage of antiquity, come bac to give austere lessons and generous examples to th moderns. They personified in him the republic, o which he was the representative and the legislato They regarded his virtues as those of his countrymen and even judged of their physiognomy by the impos ing and serene traits of his own. Happy was he, wh could gain admittance to see him in the house whic he occupied at Passy. This venerable old man, i was said, joined to the demeanor of Phocion the spir it of Socrates. Courtiers were struck with his nativ dignity, and discovered in him the profound statesman Young officers, impatient to signalize themselves i another hemisphere, came to interrogate him respect ing the military condition of the Americans; and, whe

* There are three separate translations of *Poor Richard* in the Frenc language; one by Dubourg, another by Quétant, and a third by Castéra. Many editions have been printed, and some of them in a beautiful style of typography. It has also been translated into modern Greek and a new translation has been recently made from the French int Spanish by Mangino, and published, with a selection from Franklin' miscellaneous writings, in the same language.

he spoke to them with deep concern and a manly frankness of the recent defeats, which had put his country in jeopardy, this only excited in them a more ardent desire to join and assist the republican soldiers.

"After this picture, it would be useless to trace the history of Franklin's negotiations with the court of France. His virtues and his renown negotiated for him; and, before the second year of his mission had expired, no one conceived it possible to refuse fleets and an army to the compatriots of Franklin."*

The commissioners were furnished by Congress, in the first place, with the plan of a treaty of commerce, which they were to propose to the French government. They were likewise instructed to procure from that court, at the expense of the United States, eight line-of-battle ships, well manned and fitted for service; to borrow money; to procure and forward military

* *Histoire de France*, par CHARLES LACRETELLE, Tom. V. p. 92. — The same historian adds, that portraits of Franklin were everywhere to be seen, with the sublime inscription, which was first applied to him by Turgot;

"*Eripuit cœlo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis.*"

A variety of medallions were likewise made, on which his head was represented, of various sizes, suitable to be set in the lids of snuffboxes, or to be worn in rings; and vast numbers were sold; as well as numerous copies of pictures, busts, and prints, in which the artists vied with each other to attain beauty of execution and accuracy of resemblance. While he resided in England, he wore a wig, according to the fashion of the times, of somewhat formidable dimensions. His head is thus covered in the portraits by Chamberlin and Martin, both of which are deemed good likenesses. In another picture of him, by West, painted in England, which is now in the possession of Mr. Edward D. Ingraham, of Philadelphia, the wig is likewise retained. After he went to France he laid aside this appendage, and supplied its place with a fur cap, which is seen in some of the engravings. But at length this was dispensed with. The portrait by Duplessis is considered the best that was taken in France, and in this he appears with his own hair, thin at the top, but flowing down the sides of his head and neck nearly to the shoulders. During the latter years of his life he seldom went abroad without spectacles, fitted by an invention of his own, for rendering objects distinctly visible at different distances from the eye.

supplies; and to fit out armed vessels under the flag of the United States, provided the French court should not disapprove this measure. They were, moreover, authorized to ascertain the views of other European powers, through their ambassadors in France, and to endeavour to obtain from them a recognition of the independence and sovereignty of the United States; and to enter into treaties of amity and commerce with such powers, if opportunities should present themselves. It was expected, that remittances would be made to them from time to time, in American produce, to meet their expenses and pecuniary engagements.

The Count de Vergennes was the minister of foreign affairs in the French cabinet, and from first to last the principal mover in what related to the American war. On the 28th of December, he admitted the commissioners to an audience at Versailles. He received them with marked civility, and conversed with them freely. They laid before him their commission and the plan of a treaty. He assured them, that they might depend on the protection of the court while they were in France; that due attention would be given to what they had offered; and that all the facilities would be granted to American commerce and navigation in French ports, which were compatible with the treaties existing between France and Great Britain. He requested them to draw up a memoir, containing an account of the situation of affairs in the United States. This was presented a few days afterwards, with the part of their instructions relating to ships of war. No direct answer was returned, the French government not being yet prepared openly to espouse the cause of the Americans, which would necessarily bring on a war with England. By the advice of Count de Vergennes, they had an interview

with Count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador, who promised to forward copies of their memorials to his court, which he said would act in concert with that of France.

Notwithstanding this reserve, the court of France had resolved to assist the Americans. A million of livres had already been secretly advanced to Beaumarchais for this purpose. Munitions of war to a large amount were purchased by him, in part with this money, and in part with such other means as he could command. By an arrangement with Mr. Deane, he shipped these articles to the United States, and Congress was to pay for them by remitting tobacco and other American produce. Before the commissioners arrived, Mr. Deane had procured, on these conditions, thirty thousand fusils, two hundred pieces of brass cannon, thirty mortars, four thousand tents, clothing for thirty thousand men, and two hundred tons of gunpowder. They were shipped in different vessels, the most of which arrived safely in the United States.

The French government did not grant the ships of war requested by Congress, but the commissioners were informed, through a private channel, that they would receive two millions of livres in quarterly payments, to be expended for the use of the United States. At first it was intimated to them, that this money was a loan from generous individuals, who wished well to the Americans in their struggle for freedom, and that it was not expected to be repaid till after the peace. In fact, however, it was drawn from the King's treasury, and the payments of half a million quarterly were promptly made. The commissioners likewise entered into a contract with the Farmers-General, by which it was agreed to furnish them with five thousand hogsheads of tobacco at a stipulated

price. One million of livres was advanced on this contract. Within a few months they were thus put in possession of three millions of livres.

With this money they continued to purchase arms, clothing for soldiers, all kinds of military equipments, and naval stores, which they sent to America. They built a frigate at Amsterdam, and another at Nantes. They also contributed the means for supplying American cruisers, that came into French ports. In these operations they were often embarrassed. Every thing was done with as much secrecy as possible; but Lord Stormont, the British ambassador, had spies in all the principal ports, and gained a knowledge of their proceedings. His remonstrances to the court were listened to, and were followed by orders for detaining the vessels which the commissioners had provided. Sometimes the goods would be taken out and put on shore, and at other times they would be stopped in their transportation from place to place. The American cruisers brought in prizes and effected sales. This drew fresh remonstrances from the British ambassador; and, on one occasion, Count de Vergennes wrote a letter to the commissioners censuring this conduct, and declaring that no transactions could be allowed, which infringed upon treaties. Knowing the actual disposition of the court, however, they were not deterred by these obstacles. They continued, by pursuing a prudent course, to ship to the United States all the articles they procured, which were of the utmost importance to the American army.

The business was chiefly managed by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane. The commissioners being authorized by their instructions to make application to any of the European powers and to solicit aids for prosecuting the war, Mr. Lee was accordingly deputed by them

to undertake this service, first in Spain and afterwards in Prussia. On these missions he was absent nearly all the spring and summer. Dr. Franklin disapproved the policy of seeking foreign alliances, and he had opposed this measure when it was under discussion in Congress. He thought the dignity of the United States would be better sustained by waiting for the advances of other governments. The majority, however, were of a different opinion, and commissioners or ministers to different courts in Europe were from time to time appointed. Very little success attended these applications.*

Dr. Franklin had been but a few weeks in France, when he received from Congress a commission to treat with the court of Spain, with the proper credentials and instructions; but, this affair being already in the hands of Mr. Lee, and there being no sufficient evidence that his Catholic Majesty was ready, either to enter into a treaty with the United States, or to contribute essential aid for carrying on the war, he declined acting under the commission, and gave such reasons as were satisfactory to Congress. He consulted Count d'Aranda, the Spanish ambassador, who discouraged any immediate attempt to negotiate with his court.

It was reported to the commissioners, that American prisoners, who had been captured at sea, were treated with unjustifiable severity in England; that some of them were compelled to enter the navy and fight against their friends, and that others were sent to the British settlements in Africa and Asia. They wrote to Lord Stormont, suggesting an exchange of seamen thus captured for an equal number of British prison-

* See remarks on this subject in SPARKS's *Life of Gouverneur Morris*, Vol. I. p. 205.

ers, who had been brought into France by an American cruiser. His Lordship did not condescend to return an answer. They wrote again, and drew from him the following laconic reply. "The King's ambassador receives no applications from rebels, unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." The paper, containing this piece of insolence, was sent back. "In answer to a letter," say they, "which concerns some of the most material interests of humanity, and of the two nations, Great Britain and the United States, we received the enclosed indecent paper, which we return for your Lordship's more mature consideration." The British ministry, however, did not long uphold the arrogance of their ambassador. The number of captures made at sea by the American cruisers soon convinced them of the policy, if not of the humanity, of exchanging prisoners, according to the common usage of nations at war.*

The multitude of foreign officers applying for letters of recommendation to Congress, or to General Washington, was so great, as to be a source of unceasing trouble and embarrassment. Scarcely had Dr. Franklin landed in France when applications began to throng upon him for employment in the American army. They continued to the end of the war, coming from every country, and written in almost every language, of Europe. Some of the writers told only the story of their own exploits; others enclosed the certificates of friends, or of generals under whom they had served; while others were backed by the interest of persons of high rank and influence, whom it was im-

* After Dr. Franklin's arrival in France, a stove invented by him became fashionable and was much used. One of the ministers was asked whether he would have one. "By no means," said he; "Lord Stormont will then never warm himself at my fire."

possible to gratify, and disagreeable to refuse. It was in vain that he assured them, that he had no power to engage officers, that the army was already full, that his recommendation could not create vacancies, and that they would inevitably be disappointed when they arrived in America. Writing to a friend on this subject, he says; "Not a day passes in which I have not a number of soliciting visits, besides letters. You can have no idea how I am harassed. All my friends are sought out and teased to tease me. Great officers of rank in all departments, ladies, great and small, besides professed solicitors, worry me from morning to night." To a person, who importuned him in this way, he wrote as follows.

"You demand whether I will support you by my authority in giving you letters of recommendation. I doubt not your being a man of merit; and, knowing it yourself, you may forget that it is not known to everybody; but reflect a moment, Sir, and you will be convinced, that, if I were to practise giving letters of recommendation to persons of whose character I knew no more than I do of yours, my recommendations would soon be of no authority at all. I thank you, however, for your kind desire of being serviceable to my countrymen; and I wish in return, that I could be of service to you in the scheme you have formed of going to America. But numbers of experienced officers here have offered to go over and join our army, and I could give them no encouragement, because I have no orders for that purpose, and I know it extremely difficult to place them when they arrive there. I cannot but think, therefore, that it is best for you not to make so long, so expensive, and so hazardous a voyage, but to take the advice of your friends, and '*stay in Franconia.*'"

One officer, however, he recommended without reluctance or reserve, and he afterwards had the satisfaction of finding, in common with the whole American people, that his judgment was not deceived, nor his hopes disappointed. In a letter to Congress, signed by him and Mr. Deane, they say; "The Marquis de Lafayette, a young nobleman of great family connexions here, and great wealth, is gone to America in a ship of his own, accompanied by some officers of distinction, in order to serve in our armies. He is exceedingly beloved, and everybody's good wishes attend him. We cannot but hope he may meet with such a reception as will make the country and his expedition agreeable to him. Those, who censure it as imprudent in him, do nevertheless applaud his spirit; and we are satisfied, that the civilities and respect, that may be shown him, will be serviceable to our affairs here, as pleasing not only to his powerful relations and to the court, but to the whole French nation. He has left a beautiful young wife, and, for her sake particularly, we hope that his bravery and ardent desire to distinguish himself will be a little restrained by the General's prudence, so as not to permit his being hazarded much, except on some important occasion."

Dr. Franklin had been ten months in France before the court of Versailles manifested any disposition to engage openly in the American contest. The opinion of the ministers was divided on this subject. Count de Vergennes and Count Maurepas, the two principal ministers, were decidedly in favor of a war with England, and of bringing it on by uniting with the Americans. Some of the others, among whom was Turgot while he was in the cabinet, disapproved this policy, and the King himself came into it with reluctance.

Moreover, the events of the campaign of 1776 afforded little encouragement to such a step. The evacuation of Canada by the American troops, the defeat on Long Island, the loss of Fort Washington, the retreat of Washington's army through New Jersey, and the flight of Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore, were looked upon in Europe as a prelude to a speedy termination of the struggle. This was not a time to expect alliances. The ability of the Americans to maintain the war for any length of time, as well as their union, spirit, and determination, was regarded as extremely problematical. The French ministry feared, that, embarrassed if not discouraged by their difficulties, they would, sooner or later, yield to the force of old habits, and seek, or at least accept, a reconciliation with the mother country. This was the main reason, added, to the obstacles thrown in the way by those who opposed a war on grounds of policy, why they did not at an earlier day enter into an alliance with the United States. Had this measure been premature, and, after an alliance was formed, had the Americans returned to their allegiance to the British King, the French would have found themselves in an awkward position, with a war on their hands against England, and the censure of the world upon them for having recognised the independence and taken up the cause of insurgent colonists, who had neither the will, the resolution, nor the internal force to support the character they had assumed.

But the tide of affairs soon began to turn in another direction. In the campaign of 1777, the losses of the preceding year were more than retrieved. The capture of Burgoyne's army, and the good conduct of the forces under General Washington in Pennsylvania, gave sufficient evidence that the Americans were

in earnest, and that they wanted neither physical strength nor firmness of purpose. On the 4th of December, an express arrived in Paris from the United States, bringing the news of the capture of Burgoyne and the battle of Germantown. The commissioners immediately communicated this intelligence to the French court. Two days afterwards, M. Gérard, the secretary of the King's Council, called on Dr. Franklin at Passy, and said he had come, by order of Count de Vergennes and Count Maurepas, to congratulate the commissioners on the success of their countrymen, and to assure them that it gave great pleasure at Versailles. After some conversation, he advised them to renew their proposition for a treaty.*

A memorial was accordingly prepared by Dr. Franklin, signed by the commissioners, and presented to Count de Vergennes; and, on the 12th, by the appointment of that minister, a meeting took place at Versailles between Count de Vergennes and M. Gérard on one part, and the American commissioners on the other, for the purpose of discussing the prelimina-

* When some one mentioned to Dr. Franklin, that General Howe had taken Philadelphia, he replied; "You are mistaken; Philadelphia has taken General Howe." And so it turned out, for the British were shut up in that city during eight months, and were at last obliged to retreat from it precipitately, without having derived any advantage from their conquest. Mr. Bache and his family retired into the country when the enemy approached, and Dr. Franklin's house was occupied by British officers. After the evacuation, Mr. Bache wrote; "I found your house and furniture, upon my return to town, in much better order than I had reason to expect. They carried off some of your musical instruments, a Welch harp, a bell harp, the set of tuned bells which were in a box, a *viola a gamba*, all the spare Armonica glasses, and one or two of the spare cases. Your Armonica is safe. They took likewise the few books that were left behind. Some of your electrical apparatus is also missing. A Captain André took with him the picture of you, which hung in the dining-room. The rest of the pictures are safe."—*July 14th*, 1778.

ries of a treaty. Count de Vergennes complimented them on the prosperous state of their affairs, and spoke with particular commendation of the movements of Washington's army in the face of a superior force. He then asked them what they had to propose. Franklin referred him to the draft of a treaty, which they had brought from Congress, and said, if there were objections to any part of it, they were ready to consider them. Count de Vergennes mentioned some objections, which were examined, but these related to points of secondary importance, without touching the fundamental articles. The minister remarked, that the relations between France and Spain were of such a nature, as to render it necessary to consult his Catholic Majesty before a treaty could be concluded, and to give him an opportunity to join in it, if he should think proper; and that a courier would be immediately despatched to Spain, who would be absent three weeks.

Before this time expired, M. Gérard called again on the commissioners, and told them that the King, by the advice of his Council, had determined to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and to enter into a treaty of amity and commerce with them; that it was the desire and intention of his Majesty to form such a treaty as would be durable, and this could be done only by establishing it on principles of exact reciprocity, so that its continuance should be for the interest of both parties; that no advantage would be taken of the present situation of the United States to obtain terms, which they would not willingly agree to under any other circumstances; and that it was his fixed determination to support their independence by all the means in his power. This would probably lead to a war with England, yet the King

would not ask, or expect, any compensation for the expense or damage he might sustain on that account. The only condition required by him would be, that the United States should not give up their independence in any treaty of peace they might make with England, nor return to their subjection to the British government.

It was at length ascertained, that the King of Spain was not disposed to take any part in the business. The negotiators then proceeded without more delay, and their work was soon completed. In its essential articles the treaty was the same as the one that had been proposed by Congress.

When this was done, the French minister produced the draft of another treaty, called a Treaty of Alliance. The objects of this treaty were in some respects of much greater importance than those of the former. It was to be eventual in its operation, and to take effect only in case of a rupture between France and England; and it was designed to explain the duties of the two contracting parties in prosecuting the war, and to bind them to certain conditions.

The first stipulation was, that, while the American war continued, both parties should make it a common cause, and aid each other as good friends and allies. To maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, was declared to be the essential and direct end of the alliance. It was agreed, that, if the Americans should gain possession of any of the British territories in the northern parts of the continent, not included within the limits of the Thirteen States, such territories should belong to the United States. If the French King should conquer any of the British Islands in or near the Gulf of Mexico, they were to be retained by him.

The contracting parties also agreed, that neither of them should conclude a truce or peace with Great Britain, without the consent of the other first obtained; and they mutually engaged not to lay down their arms, until the independence of the United States should be assured by the treaty or treaties, which should terminate the war. The United States guarantied to the King of France all the possessions he then held in America, as well as those he should acquire by the treaty of peace; and the King guarantied to the United States their liberty, sovereignty, and independence, and all their possessions, and such acquisitions as they should gain by conquest from the dominions of Great Britain in America.

In both these treaties it was the aim of the parties to adjust every point, as nearly as it could be done, upon principles of exact equality and reciprocity. The commercial treaty granted reciprocal privileges of trade; and each party was at liberty to grant the same privileges to any other nation. By the treaty of alliance the United States secured the very great advantage of the whole power of France on their side, till their independence should be confirmed by a treaty of peace. The equivalent expected by France for this use of her means, and for the losses and expenses she might incur in the war, was the separating of the colonies from the mother country, thereby striking a heavy blow upon Great Britain; and also a due share of the profits of the American trade, the whole of which had hitherto been poured into the lap of England, increasing her wealth and enlarging her power. She made no provision for obtaining acquisitions on the American continent, either by conquest or cession, not even Canada and the Islands in the St. Lawrence, which had been taken from her by the English in the last war.

On the contrary, she disavowed, in the most positive terms, all intention of seeking such conquest or accepting such cession; and it may be added, that her conduct during the war and at the peace was in perfect accordance with this declaration.

The two treaties were signed at Paris on the 6th of February, 1778. They were sent to America by a special messenger, and were immediately ratified by Congress. The event diffused joy throughout the country. Washington set apart a day for the rejoicings of the army on the occasion at Valley Forge. All saw, or believed they saw, that, whatever might be the hazards of the war, independence in the end was certain. France was too powerful a nation to be conquered, and she had promised her support to the last. Her interest and safety were deeply involved in the contest, and her honor was pledged. In the enthusiasm of the moment, every heart was filled with gratitude to the French King, and every tongue spoke his praise. His generosity in agreeing to treaties, so favorable in their conditions and so equitable in their principles, was lauded to the skies; and we behold the spectacle of two millions of republicans, becoming all at once the cordial friends and warm admirers of a monarch, who sat on a throne erected by acts, sustained by a policy, and surrounded by institutions, which all true republicans regarded as so many encroachments upon the natural and inalienable rights of mankind. In this instance, however, they had no just occasion afterwards to regret, that their confidence had been misplaced, or their gratitude improperly bestowed. Every promise was fulfilled, and every pledge was redeemed.

On the 20th of March, the American commissioners were introduced to the King at Versailles, and they

took their place at court as the representatives of an independent power. A French historian, describing this ceremony, says of Franklin; "He was accompanied and followed by a great number of Americans and individuals from various countries, whom curiosity had drawn together. His age, his venerable aspect, the simplicity of his dress, every thing fortunate and remarkable in the life of this American, contributed to excite public attention. The clapping of hands and other expressions of joy indicated that warmth of enthusiasm, which the French are more susceptible of than any other people, and the charm of which is enhanced to the object of it by their politeness and agreeable manners. After this audience, he crossed the court on his way to the office of the minister of foreign affairs. The multitude waited for him in the passage, and greeted him with their acclamations. He met with a similar reception wherever he appeared in Paris."*

From that time both Franklin and the other American commissioners attended the court at Versailles, on the same footing as the ambassadors of the European powers. Madame Campan says, that, on these occasions, Franklin appeared in the dress of an American farmer. "His straight, unpowdered hair, his round hat, his brown cloth coat, formed a singular contrast with the laced and embroidered coats, and powdered and perfumed heads, of the courtiers of Versailles."† The rules of diplomatic etiquette did not permit the ambassadors of those sovereigns, who had not recognised the independence of the United States, to

* Essais Historiques et Politiques sur la Révolution de l'Amérique. Par HILLIARD D'AUBERTEUIL. Tom. I. p. 350.

† Mémoires de MADAME CAMPAN, Tom. I. p. 232.

extend any official civilities to the ministers of the new republic. In private, however, they sought the acquaintance and society of Franklin, and among them were some of his most esteemed and intimate friends. An amusing incident, illustrative of the reserve of the ambassadors in their official character, occurred to Dr. Franklin some time after he became minister plenipotentiary. The son of the Empress of Russia, under the title of Count du Nord, arrived in Paris. He sent round his cards to the several foreign ambassadors, with his name and that of the Prince Bariatinski, the Russian ambassador, written upon them. By some accident the messenger left one of these cards at Dr. Franklin's house. As this was the first instance of the kind, he knew not precisely in what manner the civility was to be returned. He inquired of an old minister at court, well versed in the rules of etiquette, who told him that all he had to do, was to stop his carriage at the ambassador's door, and order his name to be written in the porter's book. This ceremony he performed accordingly. "I thought no more of the matter," said he, "till the servant, who brought the card, came in great affliction, saying he was like to be ruined, and wishing to obtain from me a paper, of I know not what kind, for I did not see him. In the afternoon came my friend, Mr. Le Roy, who is also a friend of the Prince's, telling me how much he, the Prince, was concerned at the accident, that both himself and the Count had great personal regard for me and my character, but that, our independence not yet being acknowledged by the court of Russia, it was impossible for him to permit himself to make me a visit as minister. I told M. Le Roy it was not my custom to seek such honors, though I was very sensible of them when conferred

upon me; that I should not have voluntarily intruded a visit, and that, in this case, I had only done what I was informed the etiquette required of me; but, if it would be attended with any inconvenience to Prince Bariatinski, whom I much esteemed and respected, I thought the remedy was easy; he had only to erase my name out of his book of visits received, and I would burn their card."

CHAPTER XI.

Preparations for War between France and England. — M. Gérard. — Mr. John Adams. — Secret Advances made to Dr. Franklin for effecting a Reconciliation between England and the United States. — Mr. Hutton. — Mr. Pulteney. — Mr. Hartley. — An Emissary in Disguise. — Franklin's personal Friends in Paris. — Interview with Voltaire. — Franklin appointed Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France. — Machinations of his Enemies to procure his Recall. — Mr. Arthur Lee. — Mr. Ralph Izard. — Visit of Sir William Jones to Paris. — Franklin instructs the American Cruisers not to seize Captain Cook's Vessel. — Grants Passports to Vessels carrying Supplies to the Moravian Missionaries on the Coast of Labrador. — Paul Jones. — The Marquis de Lafayette. — Paper on the Aurora Borealis. — Sir Humphrey Davy. — Mr. Vaughan's Edition of Franklin's Political and Miscellaneous Writings.

The French ambassador in London, as instructed by his court, informed the British ministry, that a treaty of amity and commerce had been concluded between France and the United States. This was considered tantamount to a declaration of war, and Lord Stormont was directed to withdraw from Paris. Anticipating this event, the court of Versailles had already begun to prepare for hostilities. A squadron was fitted out at Toulon, under the command of Count d'Estaing, which sailed from that port for America about the middle of April. M. Gérard and Mr. Deane were passengers on board the admiral's ship. The former went out as minister to the United States; the latter had been recalled, in consequence of the agreements he had entered into with French officers for their serving in the American army, by which Congress had been much embarrassed. His successor was Mr. John Adams, who arrived in Paris just at the time of Mr. Deane's departure.

The British ministers were now convinced, that the

contest was likely to be of longer duration and more serious than they had apprehended. There was little doubt that Spain would soon follow the example of France. A reconciliation with the Americans, therefore, on such terms as would comport with the dignity of Parliament and the interests of the crown, was a thing most ardently to be desired. After warm debates in Parliament, it was resolved to despatch commissioners to treat with Congress, invested with such powers as, it was fondly hoped, would insure their success.

In the mean time other measures were put in operation to effect the same end through the instrumentality of secret agents. Their advances were chiefly made to Dr. Franklin. Even before the treaties were signed, an emissary of this description appeared in Paris, who endeavoured to obtain from him propositions, which he might carry back to England. This was Mr. Hutton, secretary to the Society of Moravians; an old friend, for whom he had great esteem; a grave man, advanced in years, respected for his virtues, and possessing the confidence of persons in power. Franklin replied, that neither he nor his colleagues had any authority to propose terms, although they could listen to such as should be offered, and could treat of peace whenever proposals should be made. Mr. Hutton returned to London, and immediately wrote to him, renewing his request for some hints or suggestions upon which he might proceed, and adding, that he believed every thing satisfactory to the Americans, short of independence, might be obtained.

Dr. Franklin was still reserved, however, and only intimated, that a peace could not be expected while the cabinet and Parliament of Great Britain continued in their present temper. Mr. Hutton had asked his

advice. He answered; "I think it is Ariosto who says, that all things lost on earth are to be found in the moon; on which somebody remarked, that there must be a great deal of good advice in the moon. If so, there is a good deal of mine, formerly given and lost in this business. I will, however, at your request give a little more, but without the least expectation that it will be followed; for none but God can at the same time give good counsel, and wisdom to make use of it." He then mentioned certain terms, which he said it would be good policy for the British government to propose, if they meant to recover the respect and affection of the Americans.

Mr. Hutton was followed by Mr. William Pulteney, a member of Parliament, who assumed in Paris the name of Williams, and who was understood to have come from Lord North, although not invested with any official character. He held a long conversation with Dr. Franklin, and presented to him a paper containing the outlines of a treaty. Franklin told him at once, that every plan of reconciliation implying a voluntary return of the United States to a dependence on Great Britain was now become impossible.

"I see," he remarked, "by the propositions you have communicated to me, that the ministers cannot yet divest themselves of the idea, that the power of Parliament over us is constitutionally absolute and unlimited; and that the limitations they may be willing now to put to it by treaty are so many favors, or so many benefits, for which we are to make compensation.

"As our opinions in America are totally different, a treaty on the terms proposed appears to me utterly impracticable, either here or there. Here we certainly cannot make it, having not the smallest authority to make even the declaration specified in the proposed

letter, without which, if I understood you right, treating with us cannot be commenced.

"I sincerely wish as much for peace as you do, and I have enough remaining of good will for England to wish it for her sake as well as for our own, and for the sake of humanity. In the present state of things, the proper means of obtaining it, in my opinion, are, to acknowledge the independence of the United States, and then enter at once into a treaty with us for a suspension of arms, with the usual provisions relating to distances; and another for establishing peace, friendship, and commerce, such as France has made." *

The ministry were not discouraged by the failure of these attempts. Mr. David Hartley, likewise a member of Parliament, was next employed on a similar mission. He had opposed all the measures of government in relation to the American war; but his character was so high and honorable, that he was confided in by both parties. An intimate friendship between him and Dr. Franklin, formed while the latter resided in England, had been preserved ever since by a correspondence on public and private affairs. His benevolence and philanthropy were eminently manifested during the war, by the lively interest he took in the condition of the American prisoners in England. He visited them often, collected money by subscrip-

* Mr. Pulteney had recently published a pamphlet, entitled, "Thoughts on the Present State of Affairs with America, and the Means of Conciliation." The author's views are expressed with moderation and apparent candor. He disapproves the scheme of Parliamentary taxation, which had brought on the controversy, although he thinks the Americans had taken unjustifiable grounds in their opposition; and he endeavours to show, that they did not aim at independence, till after the petitions of Congress to the King had been rejected. He fortifies his remarks by Dr. Franklin's celebrated letters to Governor Shirley, which are appended to the pamphlet.

ton for their relief, interceded with the ministers in their behalf, and used his unremitted efforts at various times to procure their exchange. He was very properly selected, therefore, as a suitable person to elicit Dr. Franklin's views on the subject of a reconciliation. He did not propose terms, but inquired, "Whether America would not be glad to obtain peace, grant some superior advantages in trade to Britain, and enter into an alliance offensive and defensive; and whether, if war should be declared against France, the Americans had not bound themselves by treaty, to join with her against England?" It is scarcely necessary to add, that the first of these queries was answered in the negative. As to the second, Dr. Franklin assured his friend, that peace, while a war was waged against France on account of her alliance with America, was impossible. In short, Mr. Hartley obtained no more satisfaction than his predecessors.

When he was on the point of leaving Paris, he wrote a note to Dr. Franklin, in which he said; "If tempestuous times should come, *take care of your own safety*; events are uncertain, and men are capricious." "I thank you for your kind caution," said Franklin in reply; "but, having nearly finished a long life, I set but little value upon what remains of it. Like a draper, when one chaffers with him for a remnant, I am ready to say, 'As it is only a fag end, I will not differ with you about it; take it for what you please.' Perhaps the best use such an old fellow can be put to, is to make a martyr of him." It was rumored, also, that he was surrounded with spies. Some time after the date of the above note, an anonymous letter came to a friend of his in Paris, written in cipher, and containing the following passage. "Mr. Hartley told Lord Camden this morning, that he was sure the

commissioners, and particularly Dr. Franklin, were much disconcerted at Paris; for they might as well live in the Bastille, as be exposed, as they are, to the perpetual observation of French ministerial spies. This must not, however, be repeated." The letter was conveyed to Dr. Franklin, who replied; "Be so good as to answer our friend, that it is impossible Mr. Hartley could have said what is here represented, no such thing having ever been intimated to him; nor has the least idea of the kind ever been in the minds of the commissioners, particularly Dr. Franklin, who does not care how many spies are placed about him by the court of France, having nothing to conceal from them."

A more formidable advance was made soon after by a secret agent under a fictitious name. It was now thought proper to mingle threats with persuasion. Dr. Franklin received a long letter dated at Brussels, and signed *Charles de Weissenstein*, in which was sketched not only a plan of reconciliation, but the form of a future government in America. The writer speaks disparagingly of the French, and says they will certainly deceive and betray their allies; and he represents the power of England as invincible, by which the colonies would inevitably be overwhelmed, if they continued obstinate in their resistance. He affirms that Parliament would never be induced to acknowledge their independence, and that, if such a thing were possible, the people of England would never submit to it. "Our title to the empire," he says, "is indisputable; it will be asserted, either by ourselves or successors, whenever occasion presents. We may stop awhile in our pursuit to recover breath, but we shall assuredly resume our career again." After these threats, he holds out temptations. By the new plan of government, now proposed, the Americans were to

have a Congress, which should assemble once in seven years, or oftener, if his Majesty should think fit to summon it; the distinguished men, like Franklin, Washington, and Adams, were to have offices or pensions for life; and perhaps there would be an American peerage, by which honorary rewards would be duly distributed.

There was little doubt in Franklin's mind, that this agent was in Paris, although his letter was dated at Brussels. He had good reason for believing, that he acted by the direction of the British ministry, and he framed his answer accordingly.

"You think we flatter ourselves," said he, "and are deceived into an opinion that England *must* acknowledge our independency. We, on the other hand, think you flatter yourselves in imagining such an acknowledgment a vast boon, which we strongly desire, and which you may gain some great advantage by granting or withholding. We have never asked it of you; we only tell you, that you can have no treaty with us but as an independent state; and you may please yourselves and your children with the rattle of your right to govern us, as long as you have done with that of your King's being King of France, without giving us the least concern, if you do not attempt to exercise it."

"Your true way to obtain peace, if your ministers desire it, is, to propose openly to the Congress fair and equal terms, and you may possibly come sooner to such a resolution, when you find, that personal flatteries, general cajolings, and panegyrics on our *virtue* and *wisdom* are not likely to have the effect you seem to expect; the persuading us to act basely and foolishly, in betraying our country and posterity into the hands of our most bitter enemies, giving up or

selling our arms and warlike stores, dismissing our ships of war and troops, and putting those enemies in possession of our forts and ports."

The idea of offices, pensions, and a peerage, he treated with a cutting severity of ridicule and sarcasm. Indeed, the whole letter is one of the best specimens of the writer's peculiar clearness and vigor of thought and felicity of style.

Having now been in France eighteen months, Dr. Franklin had attracted around him a large number of personal friends. Among these were Turgot, Buffon, D'Alembert, Condorcet, La Rochefoucauld, Vicq d'Azyr, Cabanis, Le Roy, Morellet, Raynal, Mably, and many others, who were conspicuous in the political, scientific, and literary circles of the great metropolis of France. He was often present at the meetings of the Academy, where he was honored with every mark of consideration and respect. When Voltaire came to Paris for the last time, to be idolized and to die, he expressed a desire to see the American philosopher. An interview took place. Voltaire accosted him in English, and pursued the conversation in that language. Madame Denis interrupted him by saying, that Dr. Franklin understood French, and that the rest of the company wished to know the subject of their discourse. "Excuse me, my dear," he replied, "I have the vanity to show that I am not unacquainted with the language of a Franklin."

The business of the commissioners continued nearly the same as it had been before the treaty of alliance. There was more to be done in maritime affairs, because American vessels were then freely admitted into the French ports. Cases of capture and of the sale of prizes were referred to them for their decision. With the loans obtained from the French government,

and comparatively small remittances from America, they were enabled to refit public vessels, purchase military supplies for the army and navy of the United States, contribute to the relief of American prisoners in England, and pay the drafts of Congress. In all these transactions Dr. Franklin found an able, zealous, and active coadjutor in Mr. Adams.*

Both Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams had represented to Congress the inexpediency of employing three com-

* Dr. Franklin was subject to visits and calls from all descriptions of persons, making applications and inquiries without number. The following is the journal of a day.

Passy, December 13th, 1778. "A man came to tell me he had invented a machine, which would go of itself, without the help of a spring, weight, air, water, or any of the elements, or the labor of man or beast, and with force sufficient to work four machines for cutting tobacco; that he had experienced it; would show it me if I would come to his house, and would sell the secret of it for two hundred louis. I doubted it, but promised to go to him in order to see it.

"A Monsieur Coder came with a proposition in writing, to levy six hundred men, to be employed in landing on the coast of England and Scotland, to burn and ransom towns and villages, in order to put a stop to the English proceedings in that way in America. I thanked him, and told him I could not approve it, nor had I any money at command for such purposes; moreover, that it would not be permitted by the government here.

"A man came with a request that I would patronize, and recommend to government, an invention he had, whereby a hussar might so conceal his arms and habiliments, with provision for twenty-four hours, as to appear a common traveller; by which means a considerable body might be admitted into a town, one at a time, unsuspected, and, afterwards assembling, surprise it. I told him I was not a military man, of course no judge of such matters, and advised him to apply to the *Bureau de la Guerre*. He said he had no friends, and so could procure no attention. The number of wild schemes proposed to me is so great, and they have heretofore taken so much of my time, that I begin to reject all, though possibly *some* of them may be worth notice.

"Received a parcel from an unknown philosopher, who submits to my consideration a memoir on the subject of *elementary fire*, containing experiments in a dark chamber. It seems to be well written, and is in English, with a little tincture of French idiom. I wish to see the experiments, without which I cannot well judge of it."

This "unknown philosopher" was ascertained to be Marat, afterwards

missioners in a service, the duties of which might be discharged with equal facility and at less expense by one. In conformity with this suggestion, Dr. Franklin was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of France on the 14th of September. The commission was dissolved, and Mr. Adams returned to America. Mr. Lee stayed some time longer, holding nominally a commission to Spain, but never going to that court.

It is not the design of this narrative, nor is it possible within the limits prescribed, to write a history of the public transactions in which Dr. Franklin was concerned. Some of the more prominent incidents, and those of a personal nature, are all that can be introduced. But justice to his memory, as well as gratitude for the great services he rendered to his country, require, that some of the particulars should be stated in regard to the means that were used to embarrass his proceedings and injure his character.

Among those, who took upon themselves this unworthy task, the most active and persevering was Mr. Arthur Lee. This gentleman was a Virginian by birth, a brother of Richard Henry Lee. A few years before the war broke out, he went to London, studied law in the Temple, and commenced practice. His talents and attainments were respectable, he was a good writer, and supported the cause of his country with ardor and a uniform consistency. But his temper was restless and vehement. Jealous of his rivals and distrustful of everybody, he involved himself, and those connected with him, in a succession of disputes and difficulties.

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of notorious memory. At this time he was devoted to philosophical studies, and he wrote several treatises on light, heat, and electricity, which are praised by his biographers for their matter and style. He occasionally invited Dr. Franklin, and other men of science, to see his experiments.

His hostility to Franklin showed itself at an early date. It has been seen above, that, when Dr. Franklin was appointed agent for Massachusetts at the court of London, Mr. Lee was nominated to be his successor whenever he should retire. Circumstances detained him longer in England than he had expected. Mr. Lee grew impatient, and fearing, as he said, that Dr. Franklin would never depart "till he was gathered to his fathers," he resorted to the dishonorable artifice of writing letters to one of the principal members of the Massachusetts legislature, filled with charges against him in regard to his official conduct, as destitute of foundation in point of fact, as they were of candor and propriety. This was the more reprehensible, as Dr. Franklin consulted him on proper occasions respecting the affairs of the colony, treated him as a friend and considered him as such, and spoke favorably of him in his correspondence. It is true, that these charges did not then produce the effect desired by Mr. Lee; yet they gave rise to suspicions, which long existed in the minds of the prominent men of Massachusetts, and which were utterly without any just cause.

Before Dr. Franklin's arrival in France, Mr. Lee had fallen into a quarrel with Mr. Deane. Some months previously, Beaumarchais had consulted him in London with respect to the best mode of forwarding secret aids to the United States. A plan was partly matured, in which Mr. Lee supposed he was to be a principal actor. But, when Mr. Deane appeared in Paris, as an agent from Congress, the plan was changed, and Beaumarchais completed his arrangements directly with him, because he was the only person in Europe authorized by Congress to enter into contracts on their account. Mr. Lee, hearing of this change, has-

tened over to Paris, accused Mr. Deane of interfering in his affairs, and endeavoured to stir up a contention between him and Beaumarchais. Failing in this attempt, he returned to London, vexed at his disappointment and angry with Mr. Deane.

Such was the disposition of Mr. Lee towards his associates, when the commissioners met in Paris. For seven or eight months there was an apparent harmony, for Mr. Lee was absent the most of the time in Spain and Germany, and the business was transacted by Franklin and Deane. But no sooner had he again joined his colleagues, than his suspicious temper and aspiring ambition raised up new troubles, and he began to foment discords both in Europe and America, which ultimately threatened alarming consequences to the foreign affairs of the United States. He was dissatisfied with all that his colleagues had done, found fault with their contracts, and more than insinuated that they had been heedlessly extravagant, partial to friends, and indulgent to themselves, in the expenditure of public money. This was not the worst. His letters to members of Congress teemed with charges and insinuations, which, although they were not sustained by any positive evidence, could not fail to produce impressions as erroneous, as they were unjust to those, whom he chose to consider his enemies, and whom he believed to stand in his way.

As early as October, 1777, his designs were unfolded in letters to his brothers, and to Samuel Adams, who were then members of Congress. He represents the American affairs in France to be in the utmost disorder and confusion, by the negligence and faithlessness of his associate commissioners, who would pay no regard to his counsels and admonitions, and whom it was impossible for him to control; and he

then begs his friends to remember, that, if there should be a question in Congress about his destination, he should "*prefer being at the court of France*," for he had discovered that court to be "the great wheel," by which all the others were moved. He recommended that Dr. Franklin should be sent to Vienna, and Mr. Deane to Holland. "In that case," said he, "I should have it in my power to call those to an account, through whose hands I know the public money has passed, and which will either never be accounted for, or misaccounted for, by connivance between those, who are to share in the public plunder. If this scheme can be executed, it will disconcert all the plans at one stroke, *without an appearance of intention*, and save both the public and me." These hints and insinuations require no comment.

He continued the same manœuvres for several months. At one time he intimated, that Dr. Franklin had sent out a public vessel on a "cruising job," in the profits of which he was to share; and, at another, that he and the American banker in Paris, were in a league to defraud the public, and to put money into their own pockets. It is needless to say, that there was not one word of truth in these charges, nor any grounds for them, except in Mr. Lee's heated passions, distempered imagination, and ambitious hopes. He did not succeed in his schemes, but he was not the less pertinacious in pursuing them. His letters produced a mischievous influence, fanning the flame of party, and exciting suspicions of almost every public agent abroad, whom he did not regard as subservient to his views. It is scarcely too much to say, that the divisions and feuds, which reigned for a long time in Congress, with respect to the foreign affairs

of the United States, are to be ascribed more to this malign influence, than to all other causes. *

Another individual, who placed himself among the foremost of Dr. Franklin's enemies, was Mr. Ralph Izard. He imbibed his prejudices in the first instance from Mr. Lee. He resided nearly two years in Paris as commissioner from the United States to the court of Tuscany; but, having no direct intercourse with that court, and no encouragement that he would be received there, it was not in his power to render any public service, and he was at length recalled.

There were two causes of his enmity to Franklin. Whilst the treaties were negotiating with France, he conceived that he ought to be consulted, in virtue of his commission to another court; he complained of being overlooked, and demanded an explanation. Not recognising his authority to make such a demand, Dr. Franklin was tardy in answering it; and Mr. Izard chose to look upon this remissness as a slight, and to assume it as the ground of a quarrel. On this point it is enough to say, that he was not in the commission for treating with France, and could not, with the least propriety, claim to be consulted in the negotiation. Again, after Dr. Franklin became minister plenipotentiary, the drafts for public money expended in Europe passed through his hands. He was to pay the salaries of the American commissioners at other courts. He paid to Mr. Izard about twelve thousand dollars, and, there being no prospect of his going to the court of Tuscany, he declined accepting further drafts, till he should receive such instructions from Congress as would meet the case. Mr. Izard's pride

* For additional facts in proof of what is here said of Mr. Lee, and of his mode of attacking Dr. Franklin, the reader is referred to Vol. VIII. pp. 57. 257, 444.

was wounded by this refusal. He neither suppressed nor concealed his resentment; and he never practised any reserve in avowing his settled hostility to Dr. Franklin.*

The imputations of these gentlemen, and of some others with whom they were allied in opinions and sympathy, reiterated in letters to members of Congress, would necessarily produce a strong impression, especially as Dr. Franklin took no pains whatever to vindicate himself, or to counteract the arts of his enemies. He was not ignorant of their proceedings. The substance of their letters, which the writers seemed not to desire should be kept secret, was communicated to him by his friends.† Relying on his character, and conscious of the rectitude of his course, he allowed them to waste their strength in using their own weapons, and never condescended to repel their charges or explain his conduct. This apparent apathy on his part contributed to give countenance to the suspicions, which had been infused into the minds of many, by the persevering industry of his adversaries. At one time those suspicions had gained so much ascendancy, that his recall was proposed in Congress. There were thirty-five members present, eight of whom voted for his recall, and twenty-seven against it. Some of the latter were probably not his friends,

* His daughter said, in a letter to him, after referring to some of these particulars; "Your friends thought it best you should know what is doing on this side of the water, what wicked things pride and ambition make people do; but I hope these envious men will be disappointed in every scheme of theirs to lessen your character, or to separate you from those you love. Your knowing their intentions in time may be a means of disappointing them in their plan." — *Philadelphia, October 22d*, 1778.

† See Vol. VIII. 250, 308, 388. The whole burden of Mr. Izard's complaints is laid open in his letters to Congress. — *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. II. pp. 367-448.

but yielded to the motives of a patriotic policy, rather than to the impulse of personal feeling. That he was the best man to fill a public station abroad, no one could doubt; that he should be sacrificed to gratify the spleen of disappointed ambition and offended pride, few could reconcile to their sense of justice, or to their regard for the true interests of their country.

It is interesting to see in what manner he speaks of his enemies, and of the artifices they employed to injure him. In writing to the Committee of Foreign Affairs, eighteen months after Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard began their opposition, he says; "Congress have wisely enjoined the ministers in Europe to agree with one another. I had always resolved to have no quarrel, and have, therefore, made it a constant rule to answer no angry, affronting, or abusive letters, of which I have received many, and long ones, from Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard, who, I understand, and see indeed by the papers, have been writing liberally, or rather illiberally, against me, to prevent, as one of them says here, any impressions my writings against them might occasion to their prejudice; but I have never before mentioned them in any of my letters." To his son-in-law, who had informed him of the efforts used against him by certain persons, he replies, that he is "very easy" about these efforts, and adds; "I trust in the justice of Congress, that they will listen to no accusations against me, that I have not first been acquainted with, and had an opportunity of answering. I know those gentlemen have plenty of ill will to me, though I have never done to either of them the smallest injury, or given the least just cause of offence. But my too great reputation, and the general good will this people have for me, and the respect

they show me, and even the compliments they make me, all grieve those unhappy gentlemen."

He writes in a similar tone, whenever he has occasion to allude to the subject, which rarely occurs, except when his attention is called to it by his correspondents. At a date two years later than that of the above extracts, he says to Mr. Hopkinson; "As to the friends and enemies you just mention, I have hitherto, thanks to God, had plenty of the former kind; they have been my treasure; and it has perhaps been no disadvantage to me, that I have had a few of the latter. They serve to put us upon correcting the faults we have, and avoiding those we are in danger of having. They counteract the mischiefs flattery might do us, and their malicious attacks make our friends more zealous in serving us and promoting our interest. At present I do not know more than two such enemies that I enjoy.* I deserved the enmity of the latter, because I might have avoided it by paying him a compliment, which I neglected. That of the former I owe to the people of France, who happened to respect me too much and him too little; which I could bear, and he could not. They are unhappy, that they cannot make everybody hate me as much as they do; and I should be so, if my friends did not love me much more than those gentlemen can possibly love one another."

The British ministry were still intent on some scheme of reconciliation. In May, 1779, Mr. William Jones, afterwards Sir William Jones, visited Paris. Dr. Franklin had been acquainted with him in England as a member of the Royal Society, and an intimate friend of the Shipley family. Without openly avowing him-

* The names of the persons here alluded to are denoted by blanks in the printed letter, and the manuscript has not been found.

self an authorized agent, he contrived to insinuate ideas, which may be presumed to have had their origin in a higher source. He put into Dr. Franklin's hands an ingenious paper, which he called a *Fragment of Polybius*, purporting to have been taken from a treatise by that historian on the Athenian government. It relates to a war in which Athens was engaged with the Grecian Islands, then in alliance with Caria. A close parallel is drawn between this pretended Grecian war and the actual war between England, France, and the United States. It ends with the plan of a treaty proposed by the Athenians, which, by merely changing the names of the parties, is intended to apply to the existing situation of the belligerent powers. The performance is elaborated with skill, and as a composition it shows the hand of a master. The terms are somewhat more favorable to the Americans, than any that had been before suggested, but the idea of independence is not admitted.

Dr. Franklin was ever ready to promote whatever could be useful to mankind. When Captain Cook's vessel was about to return from a voyage of discovery, he wrote a circular letter to the commanders of American cruisers, in his character of minister plenipotentiary, requesting them, in case they should meet with that vessel, not to capture it, nor suffer it to be detained or plundered of any thing on board, but to "treat the captain and his people with civility and kindness, affording them, as common friends of mankind, all the assistance in their power." This act of magnanimity was properly estimated by the British government. After Cook's *Voyage* was published, a copy of the work was sent to him by the Board of Admiralty, with a letter from Lord Howe, stating that it was forwarded with the approbation of the King.

One of the gold medals, struck by the Royal Society in honor of Captain Cook, was likewise presented to him.*

Acts of a similar kind were repeated in other instances. There was a settlement of Moravian missionaries on the coast of Labrador, to which the Society in London annually despatched a vessel laden with supplies. Dr. Franklin, at the request of Mr. Hutton, granted a passport to this vessel, which was renewed every year during the war. He afforded the same protection to a vessel, which sailed from Dublin with provisions and clothing for sufferers in the West Indies, contributed by charitable persons in that city.

When Paul Jones came to France, after his cruise in the *Ranger*, and his fortunate action with the *Drake*, a British sloop of war, the French ministry planned a descent upon the coast of England by a naval armament combined with land forces. The Marquis de Lafayette, who had recently returned from America, where he had won laurels by his bravery and good conduct in two campaigns, was to be at the head of the expedition. Paul Jones was to command the squadron, under the American flag, and he received his instructions from Dr. Franklin. The plan was changed, just as it was on the point of being executed, in consequence of larger designs of the French cabinet; but Jones sailed with his little fleet some

* Dr. Kippis, in his "Life of Captain Cook," said, that Dr. Franklin's circular letter was disapproved by Congress, and that orders were sent out to seize the vessel, if an opportunity should occur. Dr. Belknap took pains to investigate the grounds of this charge, and ascertained that it was erroneous in every particular. Congress neither issued orders nor passed any resolve on the subject. The facts were communicated to Dr. Kippis, and he publicly acknowledged the error, into which he had been led by false information. See the *Collections of the Mass. Hist. Society*, Vol. IV. pp. 79–85; V. p. 1; and the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1795, p. 715.

time afterwards, met the enemy, and gained a brilliant victory in the well known and desperate engagement between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the *Serapis*. The task of settling the affairs of his cruise, of reconciling the difficulties between him and Captain Landais, who was the second in command, and of deciding on the conflicting claims for prize money, devolved on Franklin.

Notwithstanding his laborious duties in the public service, he found time to bestow some attention upon philosophical studies; and, in the year 1779, he read a paper on the Aurora Borealis to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, in which he professed only to advance *Suppositions and Conjectures* towards forming an hypothesis for its explanation. His ideas are original and curious, though his conjectures may not perhaps be sustained by more recent discoveries. He says of this paper, in a letter to Dr. Priestley; "If it should occasion further inquiry, and so produce a better hypothesis, it will not be wholly useless." He seeks for the cause of this phenomenon in electricity, and supports his theory by plausible reasons, founded on such a knowledge of the science and of facts as then existed.*

It was also in the course of this year, that he communicated to Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, of London, materials for a more complete collection of his miscel-

* Sir Humphrey Davy has described, with an acute discrimination, the predominant characteristics of Franklin's philosophical writings. "A singular felicity of induction guided all his researches, and by very small means he established very grand truths. The style and manner of his publication on Electricity are almost as worthy of admiration, as the doctrine it contains. He has endeavoured to remove all mystery and obscurity from the subject. He has written equally for the uninitiated and for the philosopher; and he has rendered his details amusing as well as perspicuous, elegant as well as simple. Science appears in his language in a dress wonderfully decorous, the best adapted to dis-

laneous and political writings, than had hitherto appeared. Mr. Vaughan's edition is comprised in a single volume, but it possesses the merit of a methodical arrangement, and of having judicious and appropriate notes, explanatory and illustrative, which he was enabled to render accurate and valuable by his correspondence with the author.*

Doubting his powers to treat of peace, under his commission of plenipotentiary to France, even if an opportunity should offer, he recommended to Congress to appoint a minister for that purpose, and invest him with the requisite powers. The appointment was conferred on Mr. John Adams, soon after his return to the United States.

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play her native loveliness. He has in no instance exhibited that false dignity, by which philosophy is kept aloof from common applications; and he has sought rather to make her a useful inmate and servant in the common habitations of man, than to preserve her merely as an object of admiration in temples and palaces."

* The volume is entitled, "Political, Miscellaneous, and Philosophical Pieces." It was published by Johnson, in London, 1779. The editor's name is not mentioned in the title-page. Dr. Franklin read the printed sheets before they were published, and, in writing to Mr. Vaughan on the subject, he said; "I thank you for the great care and pains you have taken in regulating and correcting the edition of those papers. Your friendship for me appears in almost every page; and, if the preservation of any of them should prove of use to the public, it is to you that the public will owe the obligation." Under an engraved head of the author, at the beginning of the volume, is the following motto (from Horace), which was suggested by Bishop Shipley, — Non Sordidus Auctor Naturæ Verique. He also proposed another, — "*His Country's Friend, but more of Human Kind.*"

CHAPTER XII.

A French Army sent to the United States. — Lafayette. — Northern Powers of Europe combine in Defence of Neutrals. — Franklin's Opinion of Privateering. — Correspondence between Count de Vergennes and Mr. Adams. — Franklin's Remarks upon it. — Charges against Franklin by his Enemies, examined and refuted. — New Attempt in Congress to procure his Recall. — Count de Vergennes's Opinion of him as Minister at the French Court. — The numerous Duties of his Office. — Colonel John Laurens. — Franklin proposes to retire from the Public Service. — New Propositions for Peace, through the Agency of Mr. Hartley. — Franklin's Answer to them. — His Friends at Passy and Auteuil. — Madame Brillon. — Madame Helvétius.

It had been a question much agitated both in France and America, since the treaty of alliance, whether it was advisable to send French troops to coöperate with the armies of the United States. The prudence of such an experiment was thought extremely doubtful. While fighting the battles of the mother country in former wars, the Americans had often been brought into conflict with the French on the frontiers. It was feared, that prejudices had been contracted, and habits formed, which would prevent the troops of the two nations from acting together in harmony, even if the people themselves could be reconciled to the presence of a French army. All aids from France, it was said, would be the most effectually rendered in money and by a naval force. Such was likewise the view taken by the French cabinet, and they acted upon this plan for two years. But many persons in the United States thought differently. They saw no reason, in the common principles of human nature, why a people should sacrifice their interests, and put their freedom in jeopardy, by giving themselves up to an inherited prejudice.

A conviction of the justness of this sentiment was deeply wrought into the mind of Lafayette. He had been a year and a half in the country, and, from the manner in which he and other French officers were treated by all classes of people, he was satisfied, that there would be no hazard in bringing an army of Frenchmen to coöperate with American soldiers. He conversed frequently with General Washington on the subject, and, although the opinion of the latter is nowhere explicitly recorded, it is certain that Lafayette returned to France fully convinced, that such a measure would meet his approbation. He applied to the ministers accordingly; who hesitated for some time, influenced by the same motives of prudence, which had hitherto guided their counsels. But Lafayette persevered, and his zeal and the force of his arguments at last prevailed. In the early part of the year 1780, preparations were made for sending an army under Count de Rochambeau to America, with a fleet commanded by the Chevalier de Ternay.

In all these transactions he was assisted by the advice and cordial support of Dr. Franklin. They also procured large supplies of arms, equipments, and clothing for the American army. As the bearer of the good news, Lafayette sailed for the United States, authorized to concert measures with Washington and Congress for the reception and future employment of the French troops.

The northern powers of Europe, at the instance of Russia, had recently come into an arrangement respecting neutrals, which Dr. Franklin so highly approved, that he issued orders to the American cruisers in conformity with it, even before he ascertained the views of Congress. By the practice of nations in time of war, it had been a rule to seize the prop-

erty of an enemy wherever found at sea; and neutral vessels having such property on board were captured under this rule, the cargo being confiscated as a prize to the captors, and the vessel being restored to the owners. This rule was reversed by the combined powers, and the law was established, that goods belonging to an enemy on board a neutral vessel, except such as were contraband, should not be subject to capture, or, in other words, that *free ships should make free goods.* A law so clearly founded in justice and humanity could not but receive his hearty concurrence. In his opinion, the application of the law ought to be extended still further, so as to mitigate the evils of war as much as possible, by leaving individuals to pursue their occupations unmolested.

"I approve much of the principles of the confederacy of the neutral powers," said he, "and am not only for respecting the ships as the house of a friend, though containing the goods of an enemy, but I even wish, for the sake of humanity, that the law of nations may be further improved, by determining, that, even in time of war, all those kinds of people, who are employed in procuring subsistence for the species, or in exchanging the necessaries or conveniences of life, which are for the common benefit of mankind, such as husbandmen on their lands, fishermen in their barques, and traders in unarmed vessels, shall be permitted to prosecute their several innocent and useful employments without interruption or molestation, and nothing taken from them, even when wanted by an enemy, but on paying a fair price for the same."

Privateering he called "robbing," and "a remnant of the ancient piracy." In an able paper on this practice, he shows its inhumanity, and condemns it

as violating the code of morality, which ought to be sacredly observed by every civilized nation. "It behoves merchants to consider well of the justice of a war," he remarks, "before they voluntarily engage a gang of ruffians to attack their fellow merchants of a neighbouring nation, to plunder them of their property, and perhaps ruin them and their families, if they yield it; or to wound, maim, or murder them, if they endeavour to defend it. Yet these things are done by Christian merchants, whether a war be just or unjust; and it can hardly be just on both sides. They are done by English and American merchants, who, nevertheless, complain of private theft, and hang by dozens the thieves they have taught by their own example." He proposed, that, in treaties between nations, an article should be introduced, by which the contracting parties should bind themselves not to grant commissions to private armed vessels; and he was instrumental in forming such a treaty between Prussia and the United States. In fact, he was an enemy to war in all its forms and disguises. It was a maxim with him, that *there never was a good war, or a bad peace.*

Mr. Adams had been but a short time in Paris, as minister for negotiating peace, when intelligence arrived of a resolve of Congress, by which the Continental paper money was to be redeemed at the rate of forty paper dollars for one of silver. The resolve being of a general nature, it was not obvious whether it was intended to apply to Americans only, or whether foreigners were to be included. The French court were concerned to ascertain this point, and Count de Vergennes wrote for information to Mr. Adams, who, having recently come from America, he supposed might be able to explain the intentions of Congress. Mr. Adams replied, that he could not tell

how far the resolve was meant to extend, but expressed his decided conviction, that it ought to include foreigners, as much as Americans, and supported his opinion by ingenious and cogent arguments. Count de Vergennes expressed surprise, that this view of the subject should be taken. The French merchants had shipped various commodities to the United States, relying on the good faith of Congress in regard to their currency; and he said it would be an act of injustice to compel these merchants to suffer by an arbitrary depreciation, which they had no reason to expect at the time of shipping their goods. A few weeks later, the correspondence was renewed on other subjects connected with the alliance and the relations between the two countries; and Mr. Adams, in his zeal for a cause which no man had more at heart, advanced sentiments and spoke with a freedom, which were displeasing to Count de Vergennes, who sent a copy of the correspondence to Dr. Franklin, and requested him to transmit it to Congress. He did so, and at the same time wrote as follows to the President.

"Mr. Adams thinks, as he tells me himself, that America has been too free in expressions of gratitude to France; for that she is more obliged to us than we to her; and that we should show spirit in our applications. I apprehend, that he mistakes his ground, and that this court is to be treated with decency and delicacy. The King, a young and virtuous prince, has, I am persuaded, a pleasure in reflecting on the generous benevolence of the action in assisting an oppressed people, and proposes it as a part of the glory of his reign. I think it right to increase this pleasure by our thankful acknowledgments, and that such an expression of gratitude is not only our duty, but our

interest. A different conduct seems to me what is not only improper and unbecoming, but what may be hurtful to us. Mr. Adams, on the other hand, who, at the same time, means our welfare and interest as much as I, or any man, can do, seems to think a little apparent stoutness, and a greater air of independence and boldness in our demands, will procure us more ample assistance. It is for Congress to judge, and regulate their affairs accordingly."

It was one of the charges of Dr. Franklin's enemies against him, that he was compliant to the French court. The nature of this compliance, such as it was in reality, is seen in the above extract. It consisted in showing a proper sense of gratitude for benefits received, and in endeavouring to please those, from whom, in his public character, he was constantly asking favors for his country. He thought this right in itself, and it was certainly politic. The consequence was, that he acquired and retained the confidence of the French King and ministry; they listened to his applications and were often influenced by his counsels; and he rarely made a request, which was not granted, although the wants of Congress, particularly in the article of money, rendered frequent applications necessary. Just before the peace he had occasion to say, that Count de Vergennes never made him a promise, which he did not fulfil; and it is a fact worthy of being remembered, as bearing on this subject, that not one of the vast number of drafts, which were drawn on him by Congress throughout the war, was allowed to be protested, or to pass the time of payment, although he relied almost exclusively on the French government for funds to meet them. Shortly after Mr. Jay was appointed minister to Spain and Mr. Adams to Holland, drafts to a large amount were

drawn on them, with the expectation that they would be able to procure loans in those countries; but no money was obtained, and the drafts all came upon Dr. Franklin. He found the means of paying them by applying, as usual, to the French court; but he was told, at the same time, that this unexpected demand subjected the King to much inconvenience.

By this course of conduct, asking only what was reasonable, with a becoming deference to the judgment, and reliance on the good intentions, of the ministers, he won a reciprocal confidence, and was enabled to execute the arduous and complicated duties of his station with entire success. His adversaries called it subserviency, and represented him as carried away by the adulation of the French people, so as not only to forget what was due to his own character, but to lose his attachment to his country. It was said, that the French ministers cajoled him, with the sinister design of moulding him to their purposes, and of effecting some deep scheme of policy to deceive and overreach their allies. These absurdities, unsustained as they are by a word of credible testimony, would not deserve to be repeated, if they had not been used at the time to injure his reputation, and give currency to an unmerited distrust of the French court.

They led to a new attempt in Congress to procure his recall. M. de la Luzerne, the French minister in the United States, writes thus to Count de Vergennes, in a letter dated at Philadelphia, December 15th, 1780. "Congress is filled with intrigues and cabals respecting the recall of Dr. Franklin, which the delegates from Massachusetts insist on by all sorts of means. That minister has very little direct support in Congress; but the fear entertained by both parties,

that his place would be supplied by one of the opposite party, has served to sustain him. The States of Massachusetts and South Carolina, and a few individual voices, influenced by Mr. Lee and Mr. Izard, have declared, in a positive manner, that there is no person who is not preferable to the present minister; and they urge, that, by his supineness and the influence of those around him, the American cause has been ruined in France."

Two months after the date of this letter, Count de Vergennes replied. "If you are questioned respecting our opinion of Dr. Franklin, you may say, without hesitation, that we esteem him as much for his patriotism, as for the wisdom of his conduct; and it has been owing in a great part to this cause, and to the confidence which we put in the veracity of Dr. Franklin, that we have determined to relieve the pecuniary embarrassments, in which he has been placed by Congress. One may judge from this fact, which is of a personal nature, whether his conduct has been injurious to the interests of his country, and whether any other minister would have had the same advantages. But, although we esteem Dr. Franklin, and hold him in high consideration, yet we are not the less obliged to confess, that, on account of his great age and love of tranquillity, he is less active than is compatible with the affairs with which he is charged, and that we see this with the more concern, since it is upon matters of importance that he preserves silence, whilst the good of the service requires, that he should transmit his sentiments to Congress. We are of opinion, however, that his recall would be very inconvenient in the present state of things, and it would be the more disagreeable to us, inasmuch as he would perhaps be succeeded by a character unquiet, exacting, difficult,

and less ardently attached to the cause of his country. Congress might relieve themselves from the embarrassment of a new choice, by giving Dr. Franklin a secretary of legation, wise, discreet, well informed, and capable of supplying his place."

We here see in what light the French government regarded Dr. Franklin, as minister to that court, and we have no indication of any wish to retain him in that post, on account of his being compliant to their wishes. In addition to the natural infirmities of age, he was afflicted by two severe maladies, the gout and the stone, which sometimes confined him to his house for weeks together, and disabled him from bodily or mental exertion. Yet Congress never sent him a secretary, and he was obliged to discharge all the duties of his office alone, or with such assistance as could be rendered by his grandson. This is the more singular, as both Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay were accompanied by secretaries of legation chosen by Congress, men of character and talents, accustomed to business, and acquainted with the details of public affairs.

He was, moreover, burdened with the concerns of the American public vessels, which came into French ports, and these gave him infinite trouble. "My time is more taken up with matters extraneous to the functions of a minister," said he, in a letter to Mr. Jay, "than you can possibly imagine. I have written often to Congress to establish consuls in the ports, and ease me of what relates to maritime and mercantile affairs; but no notice has yet been taken of my request." Nor was any consul appointed till near the end of the war. It must be inferred, at least, that Congress did not distrust his ability to perform the important services appertaining to his station, notwithstanding the machinations that were constantly at work to have him

removed. And, indeed, the resources and vigor of his mind nowhere appear to greater advantage, than in his correspondence during this period. Count de Vergennes was not well satisfied, that he did not write oftener and more fully with respect to the state of things in France, and thus discourage Congress from making such repeated and importunate demands for aids; but Franklin knew that the French minister in Philadelphia was perfectly informed of all these particulars, and represented them to Congress whenever occasion required.

The loans from the French government had amounted to about three millions of livres annually. For the year 1781, Dr. Franklin obtained a loan of four millions, besides a subsidy of six millions, which the minister told him was intended as a free gift to the United States. After these sums were granted, Colonel John Laurens arrived in France, commissioned by Congress to represent the extreme wants of the army, and to solicit further aids both in money and military supplies. Dr. Franklin joined heartily with Colonel Laurens in urging this application, and it met with some success. More direct aids could not be furnished; but, to facilitate a loan on American account in Holland, the King of France agreed to guaranty the payment of the interest of such a loan not exceeding ten millions of livres.

At this time Dr. Franklin proposed to retire from the public service, and requested that some other person might be appointed to supply his place. His reasons are given in the following extract from a letter to the President of Congress.

"I must now beg leave to say something relating to myself; a subject with which I have not often troubled the Congress. I have passed my seventy-

fifth year, and I find, that the long and severe fit of the gout, which I had the last winter, has shaken me exceedingly, and I am yet far from having recovered the bodily strength I before enjoyed. I do not know that my mental faculties are impaired; perhaps I shall be the last to discover that; but I am sensible of great diminution in my activity, a quality I think particularly necessary in your minister for this court. I am afraid, therefore, that your affairs may some time or other suffer by my deficiency. I find, also, that the business is too heavy for me, and too confining. The constant attendance at home, which is necessary for receiving and accepting your bills of exchange (a matter foreign to my ministerial functions), to answer letters, and perform other parts of my employment, prevents my taking the air and exercise, which my annual journeys formerly used to afford me, and which contributed much to the preservation of my health. There are many other little personal attentions, which the infirmities of age render necessary to an old man's comfort, even in some degree to the continuance of his existence, and with which business often interferes.

"I have been engaged in public affairs, and enjoyed public confidence, in some shape or other, during the long term of fifty years, and honor sufficient to satisfy any reasonable ambition; and I have no other left but that of repose, which I hope the Congress will grant me, by sending some person to supply my place. At the same time, I beg they may be assured, that it is not any the least doubt of their success in the glorious cause, nor any disgust received in their service, that induces me to decline it, but purely and simply the reasons above mentioned. And, as I cannot at present undergo the fatigues of a sea voyage (the last having been almost too much for me), and

would not again expose myself to the hazard of capture and imprisonment in this time of war, I purpose to remain here at least till the peace; perhaps it may be for the remainder of my life; and, if any knowledge or experience I have acquired here may be thought of use to my successor, I shall freely communicate it, and assist him with any influence I may be supposed to have, or counsel that may be desired of me."

Congress declined accepting his resignation, and, nearly at the same time, enlarging their commission for negotiating a treaty of peace, by joining with Mr. Adams four other commissioners, they appointed Dr. Franklin to be one of the number. This new mark of confidence, especially after he had asked, as a favor, to be relieved from his public charge, was a sufficient rebuke to his enemies, and left them little cause to be satisfied with the success of their schemes. He acquiesced in the decision of Congress. "It was my desire," said he, "to quit public business, fearing it might suffer in my hands through the infirmities incident to my time of life; but, as they are pleased to think I may still be useful, I submit to their judgment, and shall do my best."

His friend, Mr. Hartley, continued to write to him on the terms of peace, taking advantage of the correspondence, which, with the knowledge of the British ministry, was kept up between them concerning the American prisoners in England. It is evident, also, from the tenor of Mr. Hartley's letters, that his propositions were seen and approved by Lord North. His first aim, and the point which he labored with the greatest diligence, was to divide the United States from France, and to bring about a separate treaty with the former. This design was so inconsistent

with the nature and express stipulations of the alliance, which were well known, that Dr. Franklin could not forbear to retort upon his friend with warmth and some degree of asperity. Mr. Hartley spoke of the alliance as a stumblingblock, which must be removed before a treaty could be entered upon, and he suggested that it might be dissolved, at least by the consent of the parties. Dr. Franklin replied;

"The long, steady, and kind regard you have shown for the welfare of America, by the whole tenor of your conduct in Parliament, satisfies me, that this proposition never took its rise with you, but has been suggested from some other quarter; and that your excess of humanity, your love of peace, and your fear for us, that the destruction we are threatened with will certainly be effected, have thrown a mist before your eyes, which hindered you from seeing the malignity and mischief of it." "Nor does there appear any more necessity for dissolving an alliance with France, before you can treat with us, than there would of dissolving your alliance with Holland, or your union with Scotland, before we could treat with you. Ours is, therefore, no *material obstacle* to a treaty, as you suppose it to be. Had Lord North been the author of such a proposition, all the world would have said it was insidious, and meant only to deceive and divide us from our friends, and then to ruin us; supposing our fears might be so strong as to procure an acceptance of it." Again, alluding to the article in the alliance, by which both parties agree to continue the war in conjunction, and not to make a separate peace, he said; "It is an obligation not in the power of America to dissolve, being an obligation of *gratitude and justice* towards a nation, which is engaged in a war on her account and for her protection; and would

be for ever binding, whether such an article existed or not in the treaty; and, though it did not exist, an honest American would cut off his right hand, rather than sign an agreement with England contrary to the spirit of it."

Mr. Hartley's next proposition, which had likewise been shown to Lord North, was for a truce of ten years, during which America was not to assist France, yet England, if she saw fit, was to carry on the war against her; "a truce," said Franklin, "wherein nothing is to be mentioned, that may weaken your pretensions to dominion over us, which you may therefore resume at the end of the term, or at pleasure; when we should have so covered ourselves with infamy, by our treachery to our first friend, as that no other nation could ever after be disposed to assist us, however cruelly you might think fit to treat us. Believe me, my dear friend, America has too much understanding, and is too sensible of the value of the world's good opinion, to forfeit it all by such perfidy."

This project of dividing the United States from their ally was industriously pursued by the British cabinet. Without doubt, it was an object worth striving for. The advances were not confined to one side. Tempting offers were held out to France, as an inducement to draw her into a separate treaty. But the King and his ministers were as true to their engagements as Franklin; and they steadily affirmed, that no propositions would be listened to, either for a peace or truce, which should not have for their basis the independence and sovereignty of the United States.

Besides his numerous acquaintances in the great world of Paris, Dr. Franklin found friends, whose society he valued, among his neighbours at Passy. They vied with each other in bestowing upon him their ci-

vilities and kindness. He was almost domesticated in the family of M. Brillon, where he was entertained rather as one of the family than as a visiter, and where the charm of an affectionate welcome was heightened by the frankness, refinement, and intelligence of those from whom it was received. The house of Madame Helvétius, at Auteuil, was another of his favorite resorts. This lady, then advanced in years, had associated, in the lifetime of her husband, with the first wits and most eminent men of the day. In these families he constantly met the Abbé Morellet, the Abbé La Roche, Cabanis, Le Roy, Le Veillard, and La Rochefoucauld. Some of his most popular essays were composed for the amusement of this little circle at Passy and Auteuil. The *Ephemera*, and the *Whistle*, were addressed to Madame Brillon, whom, in his playful mood, he used to call "the amiable *Brillante*." The *Dialogue with the Gout*, and several other humorous pieces, were written at the same time and for the same object. He classed them all under the title of *Bagatelles*. They served as a relief from his weighty cares, and contributed to the enjoyment of those around him. The friendships, formed by this social intercourse, were not transient; they were kept fresh after his return to America, by a correspondence, which continued as long as he lived.

CHAPTER XIII.

Negotiations for Peace. — Debates on the Subject in the British Parliament. — Change of Ministry. — Mr. Oswald sent to Paris to consult Dr. Franklin on the Mode of Negotiating. — Grenville's Commission; disapproved by Franklin. — Mr. Fox's Views of Independence. — Lord Shelburne's Administration. — Mr. Fitzherbert. — Mr. Oswald commissioned to negotiate the American Treaty. — Essential Articles of the Treaty proposed by Franklin. — Advisable Articles. — Mr. Jay disapproves Mr. Oswald's Commission. — An Alteration required and obtained. — Progress of the Treaty. — Independence, Boundaries, Fisheries. — Attempts of the British Ministry to secure the Indemnification of the Loyalists. — Mr. Adams joins his Colleagues and resists the British Claims. — Franklin proposes an Article for Indemnifying the Americans for their Losses during the War. — British Claims relinquished. — Treaty signed. — Ratified by Congress.

EARLY in the year 1782, the subject of peace began to occupy the attention of the British Parliament. The capture of Lord Cornwallis's army at Yorktown, the inability of the ministers to supply the place of these troops for another campaign, the fact that Holland had recently joined the belligerents against England, the enormous expenses of the war; all these things had contributed to open the eyes of the people, and to raise a general clamor for peace. The tone of the King's speech to Parliament, which convened soon after the intelligence of Cornwallis's defeat reached England, was somewhat more subdued than it had been before; yet such was the force of habit in wording the royal speeches, that even now, when the Americans had nobly sustained themselves as an independent nation for more than five years, captured two British armies, and taken away the last hope from their enemies of conquering them, the King could not refrain from talking of his *rebellious and deluded subjects;* although he did not, as on former occasions, boast of his prow-

ess, and of the ample means of subjugation, which he had at command.

It was soon discovered in Parliament, that the public sentiment had communicated itself to that body, and that the overwhelming majority, which had sustained the ministers through the war, was greatly reduced, if not annihilated. The matter was brought to a trial by a motion of General Conway, that an address should be presented to his Majesty, praying that the war in America might cease, and that measures should be taken for restoring tranquillity and a reconciliation. The motion gave rise to a debate, which was animated on both sides, and it was finally lost by a majority of one only in favor of the ministers, and for continuing the war.

This vote was the signal for a dissolution of the ministry. Lord North resigned, and there was a total change of ministry and measures. The new administration was formed in March. The Marquis of Rockingham was prime minister; the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, the two principal secretaries of state. This ministry came into power, as Mr. Fox more than once declared in Parliament, with the express understanding, that the fundamental principle of their measures was to be "the granting of unequivocal and unconditional independence to America." For some time they seemed to act on this principle. The two secretaries corresponded directly with Dr. Franklin on the subject of peace, and they sent Mr. Richard Oswald over to Paris early in April, with authority to consult him on the mode of beginning and pursuing a negotiation. Mr. Thomas Grenville was likewise sent to confer with Count de Vergennes in reference to the preliminaries for a general peace between all the powers at war. Nothing more could be done till

Parliament should pass an act enabling the King to enter into a formal negotiation.

As to the mode of conducting the negotiations, Dr. Franklin said he thought it would be best for the British negotiators to appear under separate commissions, one for the American treaty, and another for those of the European powers, since the topics to be discussed were entirely distinct; and, as this mode would have greater simplicity, the object might be the sooner and more easily attained. The British ministry approved and adopted this suggestion, and their envoys were accordingly furnished with separate commissions.

Both Mr. Grenville and Mr. Oswald, at their several interviews, assured Count de Vergennes and Dr. Franklin, that the point of independence had been conceded, and that it was to be granted *in the first instance*, before the treaty was begun. It was agreed between the British and French cabinets, that the negotiations should take place at Paris. Mr. Grenville remained there. Mr. Oswald went back to London, but returned in a few days. In the mean time Mr. Grenville received a commission, which he understood to authorize him to treat with France and America; but there was not a word in it about any other power than France. When this defect was pointed out to Mr. Grenville, he said, that, though his commission was silent in regard to America, yet his instructions gave him ample powers. Dr. Franklin was not satisfied with this explanation, and he said that the commission must be put in a proper form for treating with the United States, or no treaty could be held. Finding him firm in this decision, Mr. Grenville despatched an express to London with the commission, which came back so altered as to authorize

him to treat "with France, or any other *Prince* or *State*." This form was no more satisfactory than the other. On perusing it, Dr. Franklin told Mr. Grenville, that "he did not think it could be fairly supposed, that his court meant, by the general words *any other State*, to include a people whom they did not allow to be a State;" and he refused to consider Mr. Grenville as empowered to act in the American treaty under this commission.

After what had been said and repeated, by Mr. Oswald and Mr. Grenville, of the readiness of the British government to enter into a treaty on reasonable terms, this kind of shuffling displeased both Dr. Franklin and Count de Vergennes. They began to suspect it to be an artifice to gain time, and that some recent successes in the West Indies had encouraged the court of St. James to prosecute the war, or, at least, to put off the treaty, with the hope of securing more favorable terms in consequence of these successes. There were, perhaps, some grounds for these suspicions, though the main difficulty arose, as soon appeared, from another cause. News arrived of the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, the dissolution of the British cabinet, and the formation of a new one. This happened in July, the Rockingham administration having existed only two months and a half. The Earl of Shelburne was raised to the station of prime minister; Mr. Fox retired, and the principal secretaries of State were Earl Grantham and Mr. Townshend.

Mr. Fox declared in Parliament, that he had left the cabinet wholly on the ground of American independence; that he had supposed this was to be granted in the first instance, and unconditionally; that he felt himself pledged to support this measure; that he

found other counsels prevailing in the cabinet; and that, consequently, his only course was to retire. It was known, also, that Lord Shelburne, though friendly to the colonies and opposed to the war, had often declared himself against independence; but, the new administration having come into power on the basis of peace, it was supposed that he had changed his mind in this particular. His friends in Parliament insisted that he had done so, notwithstanding Mr. Fox's explanation implying the contrary. It is moreover to be observed, that there were political and personal differences, of long standing, between Lord Shelburne and Mr. Fox, which prevented their acting together in harmony, and that they had not agreed with respect to the negotiations, which had been begun.

The new ministry being formed, however, under Lord Shelburne, he managed the peace in his own way; and it turned out, that Mr. Fox was right in saying, that the recognition of independence *in the first instance* was not a measure, which this minister had sought to promote, although the commissioners in Paris had been officially authorized to make this declaration to Dr. Franklin. After the Marquis of Rockingham's death, there was evidently an intention in the cabinet to establish the peace on a different basis, and to grant independence for an *equivalent*, to be rendered by the United States, either in commercial privileges or a cession of territory.

In this state of affairs, Mr. Grenville, who had been appointed by the influence of Mr. Fox, was recalled from Paris, and his place was supplied by Mr. Fitzherbert, properly commissioned to negotiate with France, Spain, and Holland. The American treaty was left in the hands of Mr. Oswald. As yet, neither Mr. Adams nor Mr. Jay, who were associated with Dr.

Franklin in the commission for peace, had arrived in Paris, the former being employed in Holland, and the latter in Spain; but Mr. Jay joined him soon afterwards. Mr. Laurens, the other commissioner, was in England, having recently been discharged from his imprisonment in the Tower, in exchange for Lord Cornwallis. He took no part in the treaty till just at its close.

Mr. Oswald received his instructions from Lord Shelburne, and was told that his commission would speedily follow. He had held many conversations with Dr. Franklin at various times during three months, in which all the fundamental articles of a treaty had been more or less canvassed. He now renewed these conversations with the direct aim of proceeding in the negotiation. At length Dr. Franklin read to him a paper, containing what he conceived to be the elements of a treaty, adding at the same time, that he could do nothing definitively without the concurrence of his colleagues. His suggestions comprised two classes of articles, the first of which he represented as *necessary*, and the second as *advisable* for England to offer, if she desired a complete reconciliation and a lasting peace. The substance of them is here presented in the language in which they were reported by Mr. Oswald to Lord Shelburne.

"The articles, *necessary* to be granted, were, First, independence, full and complete in every sense, to the Thirteen States; and all troops to be withdrawn from there. Secondly, a settlement of the boundaries of *their* colonies and the loyal colonies. Thirdly, a confinement of the boundaries of Canada; at least to what they were before the last act of Parliament, in 1774, if not to a still more contracted state, on an ancient footing. Fourthly, a freedom of fishing on

the Banks of Newfoundland and elsewhere, as well for fish as whales.

"The *advisable* articles, or such as he would, as a friend, recommend to be offered by England, were, First, to indemnify many people, who had been ruined by towns burnt and destroyed. The whole might not exceed five or six hundred thousand pounds. I was struck at this. However, the Doctor said, though it was a large sum, yet it would not be ill bestowed, as it would conciliate the resentment of a multitude of poor sufferers, who could have no other remedy, and who, without some relief, would keep up a spirit of revenge and animosity for a long time to come against Great Britain; whereas a voluntary offer of such reparation would diffuse a universal calm and conciliation over the whole country. Secondly, some kind of acknowledgment, in some public act of Parliament or otherwise, of our error in distressing those countries so much as we had done. A few words of that kind, the Doctor said, would do more good than people could imagine. Thirdly, colony ships and trade to be received, and have the same privileges in Britain and Ireland, as British ships and trade; British and Irish ships in the colonies to be in like manner on the same footing with their own ships. Fourthly, giving up every part of Canada."

These terms were sent over to the ministry, and Mr. Oswald was authorized to treat, by assuming the articles, here mentioned as *necessary*, for the basis of his negotiation. It hence appears, that, at the outset, Dr. Franklin not only insisted on the fisheries as *necessary* to be granted, but the British ministers decided to yield them, although they afterwards struggled hard to have this decision reversed.

Dr. Franklin was extremely desirous to procure the

accession of Canada; he said, there could be no solid and permanent peace without it; that it would cost the British government more to keep it, than it was worth; it would be a source of future difficulties with the United States, and some day or other it must belong to them; and it was for the interest of both parties, that it should be ceded in the treaty of peace. Yet he did not think proper to urge such a cession as a necessary condition of peace, especially since Congress had forborne to instruct the commissioners on this subject, and since there was no claim on France, by the treaty of alliance, to sustain such a demand, as the pledge in that treaty was only to insure the independence of the old Thirteen Colonies, and Canada was not one of these. Mr. Oswald, in his conversations with Dr. Franklin, gave it as his opinion, that Canada should be given up to the United States, and said, that, when he mentioned it to the ministers, though they spoke cautiously, they did not express themselves as decidedly opposed to the measure. It was not pressed, however, by the American commissioners, and it would seem not to have been much dwelt upon in the subsequent progress of the negotiation.

At this stage of the business, Dr. Franklin was taken ill, and was confined for several weeks to his house. The negotiation was chiefly carried on by Mr. Oswald and Mr. Jay, though Dr. Franklin was consulted when occasion required it. Mr. Oswald at length produced his commission. It was first perused by Mr. Jay, who was so little pleased with it, that he refused to proceed with the treaty unless it should be altered. As it stood, Mr. Oswald was authorized to conclude a treaty "with commissioners named, or to be named, by the colonies or plantations in Amer-

ica," or any assembly, body, or description of men. Nothing was said of the United States as an independent power, nor could it be inferred, that their independence was to be recognised in a formal manner. Mr. Oswald appealed to his instructions on this head, and showed one of the articles, by which independence was to be granted in the treaty. Mr. Jay still insisted that this was not enough; that independence must be acknowledged in the first instance, and that the commission must be worded accordingly.

The form of Mr. Oswald's commission was faulty in two respects; first, the American commissioners did not represent colonies, but an independent nation; secondly, Mr. Oswald was empowered to negotiate with assemblies, or individuals of any description, which, to say the least, was unusual, and not respectful to the United States. Dr. Franklin was consulted, and he agreed with Mr. Jay, that the commission was objectionable in its form, but he had some doubts whether it was best to endanger the treaty by insisting too much on forms, especially as it was evident, that independence was to be granted, as well as all the other principal demands of the United States. In the present condition of affairs in England, there was a prospect of another change of ministry; and, if this should take place, it was extremely doubtful whether peace could be obtained on any reasonable terms, and whether the war would not be renewed. Mr. Jay saw the matter in a different light; he looked upon the form as a thing of more importance; and he labored the point for some time with Mr. Oswald, and with so much pertinacity as to gain a partial success.

As to a previous acknowledgment of independence, Mr. Jay said it ought to be declared by an act of Parliament. But Parliament was not now in session, and

would not convene for some months. He next suggested, that the King should do it by proclamation. Mr. Oswald replied, that the Enabling Act, which empowered the King to make peace, did not authorize him to issue such a proclamation; and, when Parliament should meet, they might destroy its effect, and perhaps throw every thing into confusion and defeat the treaty. When he complained to Dr. Franklin of Mr. Jay's inflexibility, and of its tendency to overthrow all that had been done, and take away all hope of continuing the negotiation, Franklin answered, "Mr. Jay is a lawyer, and may think of things that do not occur to those who are not lawyers." Mr. Jay finally gave up this point, and said, that, "if Dr. Franklin would consent, he was willing, in place of an express and previous acknowledgment of independence, to accept of a constructive denomination of character, to be introduced in the preamble of the treaty, by only describing their constituents as the Thirteen United States of America." Dr. Franklin agreed to this proposal, and the more readily, as Mr. Adams had some time before written to him from Holland as follows. "In a former letter I hinted, that I thought an express acknowledgment of independence might now be insisted on; but I did not mean, that we should insist upon such an article in the treaty. If they make a treaty of peace with the United States of America, this is acknowledgment enough for me."

The commission was accordingly sent back to London, and altered apparently without hesitation or objection. Instead of the original form, it was so worded, that Mr. Oswald was empowered to treat "with any commissioners or persons, vested with equal powers by and on the part of the Thirteen United States of America." After all, the previous acknowledgment

was not obtained. Independence made the first article of the treaty. But this was a small matter in itself; a thing of form and not of substance.

These preliminary skirmishes occupied three months from the time the discussions first commenced between Dr. Franklin and Mr. Oswald. The negotiators were now ready to enter upon the solid part of their work. Independence, the boundaries, and the fisheries, were the three great points to be arranged. The first was settled at once, in the manner already described. The boundary question was more complex; it led to long discussions, to the examining of maps and ancient documents, and to such ingenious arguments and counter-arguments as diplomatists know how to use. It was finally adjusted to the satisfaction of the parties.

The right to catch fish in the ocean, at such a distance from the coast as not to interfere with the jurisdiction over any territory, is given by nature to all mankind, and is recognised by the laws of nations, although it is sometimes encroached upon by the usurpation of maritime powers. This right had been exercised by the Americans along their own coast, from the first settlement of the country, in common with the British. As to the Banks of Newfoundland, and other fishing grounds in that quarter, they had shared in the wars for maintaining and extending the liberty of fishing there, and in this view they possessed the same title to it as the inhabitants of Great Britain. They had not forfeited it by the Revolution, any more than they had forfeited the right to navigate their own bays and rivers. In short, the case was so plain, that no difficulty was made about it at the beginning of the negotiation; for we have seen, that it was included in the *necessary* articles first proposed

by Dr. Franklin. No objection was then made to it; and, in fact, Mr. Oswald was instructed to admit this article.

When, however, the negotiation seemed nearly at a close, the various propositions in the treaty having been carried back and forth by messengers between Paris and London, an effort was unexpectedly made by the British ministry to extort better terms. They now revived the question of the boundaries; but it was their great object to obtain compensation for the loyalists, or Tories, whose property had been confiscated, and many of whom had been banished from the country. If this could not be done, it was their next object to retain the fisheries as an equivalent. Mr. Strachey went over to Paris, and he and Mr. Fitzherbert united their forces with Mr. Oswald to push these points with all their might. At this time Mr. Adams had joined his colleagues, having arrived in Paris near the end of October, a month before the treaty was signed. Coming fresh to the conflict, he exerted himself on every point with his usual ardor and energy; and the British claim to the fisheries, in particular, was resisted by him with great strength of argument and a determined spirit.

In regard to the loyalists, none of the American commissioners ever gave the least hope, that any thing could be done in their favor. Dr. Franklin discarded the idea, most pointedly, in his first conversations with Mr. Oswald. The commissioners had no power to act in the case; Congress had none. The property of the loyalists had been confiscated by the States, and the remedy, if any, must be sought from the States. An article in the treaty, to this effect, would not be binding; it would not be regarded. Besides, neither justice nor humanity required, that the Ameri-

cans should compensate these people. They had been the principal cause of the war, and instrumental in promoting and aggravating some of its worst horrors; they had taken the lead in burning towns, and plundering and distressing the inhabitants; they had deserted their country's cause, and sacrificed every thing to their friendship for their country's foes; and, if they were to be indemnified by anybody, it must be by their friends. Such were the sentiments of Dr. Franklin, which he maintained to the last, and in which he was firmly supported by his colleagues.

They would not listen to any proposal in the shape of an indemnification; and they said, that, if such an article were insisted on, it must be accompanied by another, which would destroy its effect, and probably turn the advantage to the other side. An account should be prepared in America of all the damages done by the loyalists, and an account of their losses should be exhibited, and examined by commissioners mutually chosen for the purpose. These two accounts should be set against each other. If a balance were found in favor of the loyalists, it should be paid by the Americans; if the balance were against them, it should be paid to the United States by the British government.

This suggestion was not relished by the British envoys; and they finally declared, that, unless the loyalists were indemnified and the fisheries contracted within the limits prescribed by them, the treaty must go back again to London for the consideration of the ministry. Dr. Franklin then produced a new article, which he desired might be sent with it; the substance of which was, that his Britannic Majesty should recommend to Parliament to make compensation to the Americans for all the goods taken from them by

the British army during the war, for the tobacco, rice, indigo, and negroes that had been plundered, for the vessels and cargoes seized before the declaration of war against the United States, and for all the towns, villages, and farms, that had been burned and destroyed by his troops.

The tone of the British commissioners was softened by this formidable proposition. Nothing more was said about sending the treaty to London. It appeared, indeed, that they had a discretionary power to sign the treaty, even if they should fail to gain these two points of compensation to the loyalists and the new claim to the fisheries. The ministry had always intended to give them up, if they could do no better. An article was inserted, however, by which Congress were to recommend an indemnification of the loyalists to the States; but it was declared, at the same time, that there was not the least probability that the States would take any notice of this recommendation. By another article it was agreed, that there should be no legal impediment, on either side, to the collection of debts contracted before the war. These two articles, even in this limited shape, were regarded as important by the ministry, because they would appease the clamors of the British creditors, and of the loyalists, and thus disarm the opposition, in some degree, of the weapons with which it was foreseen the treaty would be assailed on the meeting of Parliament.

It may be added, also, that the commercial article, which Dr. Franklin proposed in his first sketch, and which Mr. Jay afterwards assisted him to mature, was not introduced. The treaty was merely a treaty of peace. Commercial regulations were left for a future arrangement. The whole business was at length concluded, and the original demands of the American

commissioners, in every essential point, were allowed and confirmed. The treaty was signed at Paris by both parties in due form, on the 30th of November, 1782. It was approved and ratified by Congress, and received with joy by the people; and the commissioners had the satisfaction, which has rarely fallen to the lot of negotiators, of finding their work applauded by the unanimous voice of a whole nation.*

* Lord Brougham, in his sketch of the character of Mr. Wedderburn, afterwards Lord Loughborough, recently published, has unguardedly repeated a false report, respecting the signing of the treaty, which was circulated soon after that event, but promptly refuted. In alluding to Mr. Wedderburn's abusive speech against Dr. Franklin before the Privy Council, Lord Brougham says; "It is well known, that, when the ambassadors were met to sign the peace of Versailles, by which the independence of America was acknowledged, Franklin retired, in order to change his dress and affix his name to the treaty in those garments, which he wore when attending the Privy Council, and which he had kept by him for the purpose many years." This statement is entirely erroneous. The report was fabricated in England, at a time when the treaty was a topic of vehement discussion; and it was eagerly seized upon to gratify the malevolence of a disappointed party. When it appeared in print, it was immediately contradicted by Mr. Whitefoord, who was present at the signing of the treaty, and affixed his name to it, as the secretary to the English commissioner. "This absurd story," says Mr. Whitefoord, "has no foundation but in the imagination of the inventor. He supposes that the act of signing the peace took place at the house of Dr. Franklin. The fact is otherwise; the conferences were held, and the treaty was signed, at the hotel of the British commissioner, where Dr. Franklin and the other American commissioners gave their attendance for that purpose. The court of Versailles having at that time gone into mourning for the death of some German prince, the Doctor of course was dressed in a suit of *black cloth*; and it is in the recollection of the writer of this, and also he believes of many other people, that when the memorable philippic was pronounced against Dr. Franklin in the Privy Council, he was dressed in a suit of *figured Manchester velvet*." See the whole of Mr. Whitefoord's letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for July, 1785, p. 561.

CHAPTER XIV.

Treaty signed without the Knowledge of the Court of France, contrary to the Instructions from Congress, and to the Treaty of Alliance. — Count de Vergennes's Opinion of the Treaty. — Unfounded Suspicions. — Rayneval and Marbois. — Franklin's Explanation of the Grounds upon which he acted. — False Rumor concerning his Exertions in obtaining the Boundaries and Fisheries. — His Financial Contract with Count de Vergennes. — Negotiates a Treaty with Sweden. — Mr. Hartley. — Definitive Treaty of Peace signed. — Franklin's Sentiments on this Occasion. — Appointed by the King of France one of the Commissioners for investigating the Subject of Animal Magnetism. — Negotiations. — His Request to be recalled is finally granted by Congress. — Mr. Jefferson succeeds him as Minister to France. — Treaty with Prussia. — Franklin prepares to return Home. — Journey from Passy to Havre de Grace. — Sails from Southampton and arrives in Philadelphia.

THE most remarkable circumstance attending the treaty of peace remains to be noticed. The American envoys not only negotiated it without consulting the court of France, but signed it without their knowledge, notwithstanding they were pointedly instructed by Congress, "to make the most candid and confidential communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally, the King of France, and to undertake nothing in the negotiations for peace or truce without their knowledge and concurrence;" and notwithstanding the pledge in the treaty of alliance, "that neither of the two parties should conclude either truce or peace with Great Britain, without the formal consent of the other first obtained." It is true, that the treaty was only provisional, and was not to be ratified until France had likewise concluded a treaty; but this reservation did not alter the nature of the act. When the American treaty was signed, it was not known to the commissioners what progress

had been made by the French in their negotiation, or whether it was likely to be completed, or the war to continue. There was also a separate article, which was not intended to be communicated to the French at all, concerning the southern boundary of the United States, in case West Florida should be given up to the British in their treaty with Spain.

It was not strange, that Count de Vergennes should complain of this procedure, and express himself with some degree of indignation when it was told to him, without any previous notice of such an intent, that the treaty had been signed. The commissioners, as a body, offered no explanation. This task was laid upon Dr. Franklin, who executed it as well as he could, and with such success as to soften the displeasure of the French court. Entire satisfaction was not to be expected; indeed, it could not be given. The feelings of Count de Vergennes on this occasion, and his opinion of the treaty, may be gathered from a confidential letter, written by him to M. de la Luzerne three weeks after the treaty was signed, and communicating the first intelligence of that event.

"With this letter," says Count de Vergennes, "I have the honor to send you a translation of the preliminary articles, which the American plenipotentiaries have agreed to and signed with those of Great Britain, to be made into a treaty, when the terms of peace between France and England shall be settled. You will surely be gratified, as well as myself, with the very extensive advantages, which our allies, the Americans, are to receive from the peace; but you certainly will not be less surprised than I have been, at the conduct of the commissioners. I have informed you, that the King did not seek to influence the negotiation, any further than his offices might be neces-

sary to his friends. The American commissioners will not say, that I have wearied them with my curiosity. They have cautiously kept themselves at a distance from me.

"This negotiation is not yet so far advanced in regard to ourselves, as that of the United States; not that the King, if he had shown as little delicacy in his proceedings as the American commissioners, might not have signed articles with England long before them. There is no essential difficulty at present between France and England; but the King has been resolved that all his allies should be satisfied, being determined to continue the war, whatever advantage may be offered to him, if England is disposed to wrong any one of them.

"We have now only to attend to the interests of Spain and Holland. I have reason to hope, that the former will be soon arranged. The fundamental points are established, and little remains but to settle the forms. I think the United States will do well to make an arrangement with Spain. They will be neighbours. As to Holland, I fear her affairs will cause embarrassments and delays. The disposition of the British ministry towards that republic appears to be any thing but favorable.

"Such is the present state of things. I trust it will soon be better; but, whatever may be the result, I think it proper that the most influential members of Congress should be informed of the very irregular conduct of their commissioners in regard to us. You may speak of it not in the tone of complaint. I accuse no person; I blame no one, not even Dr. Franklin. He has yielded too easily to the bias of his colleagues, who do not pretend to recognise the rules of courtesy in regard to us. All their attentions have

been taken up by the English, whom they have met in Paris. If we may judge of the future from what has passed here under our eyes, we shall be but poorly paid for all that we have done for the United States, and for securing to them a national existence.

"I will add nothing, in respect to the demand for money, which has been made upon us. You may well judge, if conduct like this encourages us to make demonstrations of our liberality."

There is no disguise in this letter; and we learn from it the precise sentiments of the French court in relation both to the treaty and to the conduct of the commissioners. On this latter head, it manifests no want of sensibility; and, on the former, not even a hint is thrown out, that the treaty included privileges with which the French were displeased, or which they had intended to claim in their treaty with England. On the contrary, the minister expresses his gratification, that the Americans had gained such *very extensive advantages.* And it may be added, that, notwithstanding the intimation at the close of the above extract, the King of France had already resolved to grant to the United States a new loan of six millions of livres for the coming year, and his purpose was not changed.

After all these facts, it may be asked what motive could induce the commissioners to act in a manner apparently so unjustifiable. This question may be answered by a single word, *suspicion;* excited in the first instance by circumstances, which seemed to indicate some interested designs of the French; and fomented, from the beginning to the end of the negotiation, by the British envoys. Count de Vergennes and the French minister in Philadelphia had uniformly urged moderation on the Americans, with respect to

their claims to the boundaries and the fisheries; and they recommended compensation to the loyalists. The reason is obvious. The French had bound themselves to carry on the war, till a peace should be concluded, satisfactory to the Americans; and they feared, that, if extravagant demands were put forth in negotiating a treaty, the pride of England would not yield to them, and that the war would be protracted on this account, after all the other powers had gained their ends and were desirous of peace. But it was suspected, that France could have no other aim, than to secure certain advantages to herself at the expense of the Americans. If such a scheme had been formed, would not the French ministers have been silent till the time of action, instead of making their sentiments known, as they did, openly and on many occasions during the war, both in America and in France.

While the negotiation was pending, an incident occurred, which raised new suspicions, and tended to strengthen the old ones. M. de Rayneval, the principal secretary under Count de Vergennes, went twice to London. It was immediately surmised by Mr. Jay, that these visits were inauspicious to the American treaty; and, in short, that M. de Rayneval was instructed to enter into an agreement with Lord Shelburne to divide the fisheries between England and France, and to curtail the boundaries of the United States, before the American treaty should be finished. There is a long despatch from Mr. Jay to Congress, in which he endeavours to establish these points by an accumulation of circumstances and conjectural evidence. But whatever his imagination may have suggested, which could render such a suspicion plausible, it had no just foundation in fact. M. de Rayneval's instructions, his correspondence with Count de Vergennes

while he was in London, and notes of his conversations with Lord Shelburne, have been perused by the author of these pages; and there is not one word in them relating to the American boundaries and fisheries, except in two instances, in which Lord Shelburne of his own accord mentioned the subject, and said he hoped the King of France would not sustain the unreasonable demands of the Americans. On both these occasions M. de Rayneval declined holding any discussion. Indeed, he was expressly instructed, in case Lord Shelburne should speak to him on American affairs, to declare, "that he had no authority to treat on these topics." [1]

It was the main object of M. de Rayneval's mission to settle the difficulties in the Spanish treaty. Before Spain declared war against England, a secret convention was formed between France and Spain, in which the former engaged to prosecute the war jointly with the latter, till certain advantages should be gained, particularly the restoration of Gibraltar. But the time of peace had come, and Gibraltar was still in the hands of the English. This subject caused a great deal of trouble in adjusting the Spanish treaty.

Again, the British envoys, perceiving these suspicions, took care to make the most of them, and to effect as wide a separation as they could between the Americans and the French. They produced an intercepted letter, written by M. de Marbois, secretary of the French legation in Philadelphia, whilst the minister himself was absent on a visit to the American army. This letter contained heretical doctrines about the fisheries, and it was assumed to be a ministerial document;

[1] See Mr. Jay's despatch in the *Diplomatic Correspondence*, Vol. VIII. p. 120; and remarks upon it, p. 208. Also, *North American Review*, Vol. XXX. p. 22.

whereas, it was written by the secretary without authority, and was merely an exposition of his private sentiments, accompanied by facts of a very dubious character, which are now known to have been derived from a source deserving little confidence. These circumstances not being understood at that time, the letter had much weight in confirming the suspicions that already existed.*

It is to be observed, however, that the commissioners were unanimous in the course they pursued. But they never pretended to give any other reasons for their conduct, than such as were founded on inferences, conjectures, and unexplained appearances. No direct or positive proofs were adduced, and nothing is now hazarded in saying, that no such proofs will ever be brought to light. The French court, from first to last, adhered faithfully to the terms of the alliance. Not that they had any special partiality for the Americans, or were moved by the mere impulse of good will and friendship, unmixed with motives of interest. Why should this be expected? When was entire disinterestedness ever known to characterize the intercourse between nations? But no fact in the history of the American Revolution is more clearly demonstrable, than that the French government, in their relations with the United States, during the war and at the peace, maintained strictly their honor and fidelity to their en-

* There is a curious passage in Coxe's *History of the House of Austria*, which shows the designs of the British commissioners, and the kind of influence which was supposed to be exercised by them. "Mr. Fitzherbert," says this historian, "fulfilled his delicate office with great ability and address. While he treated with Vergennes, he succeeded in alarming Franklin, Adams, and Jay, and prevailed on them to sign separate and provisional articles, which severed America from France." —Vol. V. p. 327, 2d. ed.

gagements; nay, more, that they acted a generous, and, in some instances, a magnanimous part.*

In a letter to Mr. Livingston, secretary of foreign affairs, Dr. Franklin explains the grounds upon which he united with his colleagues in signing the treaty.

"I will not now take it upon me," he observes, "to justify the apparent reserve respecting this court, at the signature, which you disapprove. I do not see, however, that they have much reason to complain of that transaction. Nothing was stipulated to their prejudice, and none of the stipulations were to have force, but by a subsequent act of their own. I suppose, indeed, that they have not complained of it, or you would have sent us a copy of the complaint, that we might have answered it. I long since satisfied Count de Vergennes about it here. We did what appeared to all of us best at the time, and, if we have done wrong, the Congress will do right, after hearing us, to censure us. Their nomination of five persons to the service seems to mark, that they had some dependence on our joint judgment, since one alone could have made a treaty by direction of the French ministry as well as twenty.

"I will only add, that, with respect to myself, neither the letter from M. de Marbois, handed us through the British negotiators (a suspicious channel), nor the con-

* The treaties between France, Spain, and England, were not completed till seven weeks after the signing of the American treaty. By the special invitation of Count de Vergennes, the American commissioners were present when those treaties were signed at Versailles. Mr. Wilmot, in a treatise written under the direction of the British government, concerning the losses and claims of the loyalists, says, that, after having seen the correspondence of the British commissioners at Paris with the ministers at home, "he can assert with confidence, that the court of Versailles absolutely refused to come to any treaty or decision at all, till the American commissioners were completely satisfied."—Wilmot's *Historical View*, &c., p. 37.

versations respecting the fishery, the boundaries, the royalists, &c., recommending moderation in our demands, are of weight sufficient in my mind to fix an opinion, that this court wished to restrain us in obtaining any degree of advantage we could prevail on our enemies to accord; since those discourses are fairly resolvable, by supposing a very natural apprehension, that we, relying too much on the ability of France to continue the war in our favor, and supply us constantly with money, might insist on more advantages than the English would be willing to grant, and thereby lose the opportunity of making peace, so necessary to all our friends."

A rumor was circulated in America, not long after the signature of the treaty, that Dr. Franklin was lukewarm about the boundaries and fisheries, and that he was even willing to conclude a treaty without securing these advantages to his country. His friend, Dr. Cooper of Boston, informed him of this rumor, and of its tendency to injure his character. Such a charge, considering that he had originally proposed these articles as *essential*, and had zealously supported them to their fullest extent in every stage of the negotiation, appeared to him as ungrateful as it was unjust. He immediately wrote to the other commissioners on the subject, enclosing an extract from Dr. Cooper's letter. "It is not my purpose," said he, "to dispute any share of the honor of the treaty, which the friends of my colleagues may be disposed to give them; but, having now spent fifty years of my life in public offices and trusts, and having still one ambition left, that of carrying the character of fidelity at least to the grave with me, I cannot allow that I was behind any of them in zeal and faithfulness. I therefore think, that I ought not to suffer an accusation,

which falls little short of treason to my country, to pass without notice, when the means of effectual vindication are at hand. You, Sir, were a witness of my conduct in that affair. To you and my other colleagues I appeal, by sending to each a similar letter with this; and I have no doubt of your readiness to do a brother commissioner justice, by certificates that will entirely destroy the effect of that accusation." Mr. Jay replied; "I have no reason whatever to believe, that you were averse to our obtaining the full extent of boundary and fishery secured to us by the treaty. Your conduct respecting them, throughout the negotiation, indicated a strong, a steady attachment to both those objects, and in my opinion promoted the attainment of them." And further; "I do not recollect the least difference of sentiment between us respecting the boundaries or fisheries. On the contrary, we were unanimous and united in adhering to and insisting on them. Nor did I perceive the least disposition in either of us to recede from our claims, or be satisfied with less than we obtained."*

Whilst the treaty was in the course of negotiation,

* Notwithstanding this declaration, so positive and full, we find the following extraordinary language in the *Life* of Jay, lately published. Speaking of the claims to the boundaries and fisheries, the author says; "Dr. Franklin never questioned either the justice or the importance of these claims, but he did question the propriety of making the success of these claims an *ultimatum* of peace, when Congress had not made it so." And again; "Urged on the one hand by France, and fettered on the other by his instructions, Franklin would, in all human probability, but with feelings of deep mortification and regret, have set his hand to a treaty, sacrificing rights, which he had himself ably and zealously maintained, and which he knew to be of inestimable value to his country."—*Life of John Jay*, Vol. I. pp. 153, 154. These charges, equally unfounded and unsustained by proofs, may be regarded with the less surprise, when it is known that the author adopts all Mr. Jay's suspicions of the French court as *historical facts*, and appears to have acquired but a limited knowledge of the actual history of the negotiation.

Count de Vergennes and Dr. Franklin entered into a contract, on the 16th of July, fixing the time and manner of paying the loans, which the United States had received from France. The amount of these loans was then eighteen millions of livres, exclusive of three millions granted before the treaty of alliance, and the subsidy of six millions heretofore mentioned. These nine millions were considered in the nature of a free gift, and were not brought into the account. By the terms upon which the eighteen millions had been lent, the whole sum was to be paid on the 1st of January, 1788, with interest at five per cent. As it would be inconvenient, if not impracticable, for the United States to refund the whole at that time, the King of France agreed that it might be done by twelve annual payments, of a million and a half of livres each, and that these payments should not commence till three years after the peace. All the interest which had accrued, or which should accrue previously to the date of the treaty of peace, amounting to about two millions of livres, was relinquished, and it was never to be demanded. This arrangement was generous on the part of the King, and highly advantageous to the United States. The contract was ratified by Congress.

Some months before the treaty of peace was signed, Count de Creutz, the Swedish ambassador in Paris, called on Dr. Franklin, and said that his sovereign desired to conclude a treaty with Congress, whenever a minister should present himself for that purpose, invested with the usual powers. Sweden was thus the first European government, which voluntarily proffered its friendship to the United States, and the first after that of France, which proposed to treat before their independence was acknowledged by Great Britain.

Dr. Franklin gave notice of this proposal to Congress, and he was furnished with a special commission to negotiate the treaty. It was finished within a few months, and signed by him and Count de Creutz at Paris.

The provisional treaty of peace was violently assailed in the British Parliament, and became one of the principal causes of the dissolution of the cabinet under Lord Shelburne. The coalition ministry, which followed, probably hoped to obtain some favorable changes in the definitive treaty, or, at all events, to introduce modifications and commercial principles, which would render it more acceptable to the nation. Mr. Hartley was accordingly sent over to Paris, duly commissioned by the King, and instructed to negotiate with the American envoys, not only "for perfecting and establishing the peace, friendship, and good understanding so happily commenced by the provisional articles," but also "for opening, promoting, and rendering perpetual, the mutual intercourse of trade and commerce between the two countries." Mr. Hartley was the bearer of a letter from Mr. Fox, then one of the ministers, to Dr. Franklin, containing professions of personal friendship, and expressing a hope that the treaty of peace would terminate in a substantial reconciliation.

A commercial article was proposed to Mr. Hartley by the American envoys, which they said they were ready to confirm. By this article it was agreed, that, whenever his Britannic Majesty should withdraw his fleets and armies from the United States, all the harbours and ports should be open to British trading vessels in the same manner as to American vessels, and without any other charges or duties. It was required, as a reciprocal privilege, that American vessels should

be admitted on the same footing into British ports. Mr. Hartley was not prepared to assent to this proposal. He represented the Navigation Act as a barrier to such an arrangement, and proposed that the commerce between the two countries should stand on the same basis as before the war; adding, that this was only a temporary provision, which might be gradually matured into a more complete compact. The West India trade offered other embarrassments. In short, after four months' negotiation, nothing was accomplished. All the propositions went to the ministers, and were returned with unsatisfactory answers. The American commissioners drew up a series of new articles, chiefly relating to commerce, which they were willing should be inserted, and which embraced Dr. Franklin's philanthropic scheme for protecting private property in time of war, and for suppressing the practice of privateering. None of them was accepted; and the preliminary articles were finally adopted as the definitive treaty, and signed as such at Paris on the 3d of September, 1783.

It was expected that the treaties between England, France, and Spain, and the one between England and the United States, would be signed at the same time and place. A day was appointed for performing the ceremony at Versailles. But Mr. Hartley declined signing at that place, and said his instructions confined him to Paris. The British government did not choose to allow even so slight an acknowledgment of the interference of the court of Versailles in their treaty with the Americans, as that of signing it in the presence of the French minister. Count de Vergennes offered no objection to this mode of proceeding, but he was resolved not to put his hand to the treaty of peace, till he was assured that the Ameri-

cans had finished their work to their own satisfaction. At his request, therefore, the American envoys signed early in the morning with Mr. Hartley, and Dr. Franklin sent an express to Versailles communicating the intelligence to Count de Vergennes, who then signed the definitive treaty with the British ambassador.

A short time afterwards, a commission arrived from Congress empowering Adams, Franklin, and Jay to conclude a commercial treaty with Great Britain. Communications passed between them and the British ambassador in Paris on the subject. But nothing was effected under this commission, and it became more and more evident, that the British cabinet had no serious design of forming such a treaty.

The definitive treaty was finally ratified by the two governments, and the drama of the Revolution was closed. The sentiments expressed by Dr. Franklin on this occasion, in a letter to his friend Charles Thomson, are worthy to be held in perpetual remembrance by his countrymen.

"Thus the great and hazardous enterprise we have been engaged in, is, God be praised, happily completed; an event I hardly expected I should live to see. A few years of peace, well improved, will restore and increase our strength; but our future safety will depend on our union and our virtue. Britain will be long watching for advantages, to recover what she has lost. If we do not convince the world, that we are a nation to be depended on for fidelity in treaties; if we appear negligent in paying our debts, and ungrateful to those who have served and befriended us; our reputation, and all the strength it is capable of procuring, will be lost, and fresh attacks upon us will be encouraged and promoted by better prospects of success. Let us, therefore, beware of being lulled into

a dangerous security, and of being both enervated and impoverished by luxury; of being weakened by internal contentions and divisions; of being shamefully extravagant in contracting private debts, while we are backward in discharging honorably those of the public; of neglect in military exercises and discipline, and in providing stores of arms and munitions of war, to be ready on occasion; for all these are circumstances that give confidence to enemies, and diffidence to friends; and the expenses required to prevent a war are much lighter than those that will, if not prevented, be absolutely necessary to maintain it."

Public attention in France was at this time so much excited by the pretended wonders of animal magnetism, that the government deemed it a proper subject for scientific inquiry. Geslon, a disciple and partner of Mesmer, by his experiments and artifices drew around him a multitude of followers, whose credulity he turned to a profitable account. Nine commissioners, selected from the members of the Royal Academy and of the Faculty of Medicine, were appointed by the King to investigate the subject. Dr. Franklin was placed at their head. They were employed at various times in their examinations from March, 1784, till the following August. Numerous experiments were performed in their presence, and all the most extraordinary cases were subjected to their inspection. Dr. Franklin himself was magneztied, but without effect. Every opportunity was allowed to Geslon to establish his facts and illustrate his principles. After a patient and protracted investigation, the details of which were embodied in an elaborate and interesting report by M. Bailly, the commissioners were unanimous in the opinion, that no proof had been given of the existence of a distinct agent, called an-

imal magnetism, and that all the effects, which had been exhibited, might be produced and explained by the ordinary action of the imagination upon the nervous system.

Just before the inquiry commenced, Dr. Franklin wrote thus to M. de la Condamine; "As to the animal magnetism, so much talked of, I must doubt its existence till I can see or feel some effect of it. None of the cures said to be performed by it have fallen under my observation, and there are so many disorders which cure themselves, and such a disposition in mankind to deceive themselves and one another on these occasions, and living long has given me so frequent opportunities of seeing certain remedies cried up as curing every thing, and yet soon after totally laid aside as useless, I cannot but fear that the expectation of great advantage from this new method of treating diseases will prove a delusion. That delusion may, however, and in some cases, be of use while it lasts. There are in every great, rich city a number of persons, who are never in health, because they are fond of medicines, and always taking them, whereby they derange the natural functions, and hurt their constitution. If these people can be persuaded to forbear their drugs, in expectation of being cured by only the physician's finger, or an iron rod pointing at them, they may possibly find good effects, though they mistake the cause." Again, somewhat later, in a letter to Dr. Ingenhousz, he said; "Mesmer is still here, and has still some adherents and some practice. It is surprising how much credulity still subsists in the world. I suppose all the physicans in France put together have not made so much money, during the time he has been here, as he alone has done. And we have now a fresh folly. A magnetizer pretends,

that he can, by establishing what is called a *rapport* between any person and a *somnambule*, put it in the power of that person to direct the actions of the *somnambule*, by a simple strong volition only, without speaking or making any signs; and many people daily flock to see this strange operation."

Mr. Jay having returned to the United States, his place was supplied by Mr. Jefferson, who was joined with Mr. Adams and Dr. Franklin in a new commission for negotiating treaties of amity and commerce with the principal European powers. Mr. Jefferson arrived at Paris early in August. They jointly wrote a circular letter to the foreign ambassadors at the court of Versailles, proposing to treat with their respective governments, according to the terms prescribed by Congress. Prussia, Denmark, Portugal, and Tuscany accepted the proposal, and negotiations were begun with the minister of each; but no treaty was finally completed except with Prussia. The answers from all the ambassadors, however, manifested a friendly disposition on the part of their sovereigns, who offered to the vessels of the United States the same freedom of access to their ports, that was allowed to those of other nations.*

For several months Dr. Franklin's time was chiefly taken up with these transactions in conjunction with his colleagues. Since the peace, his duties as minister plenipotentiary had become less burdensome. His correspondence was at all times a heavy task. During the war the relatives of the foreign officers, who served in America, wrote to him continually for information about their friends. Memoirs and projects innumerable were communicated to him on scientific subjects

* An account of some private incidents, may be seen in the APPENDIX, No. V.

and particularly on politics, government, and finance. People all over Europe, proposing to emigrate to America, applied to him for an account of the country and of the advantages it held out to new settlers, each asking advice suited to his particular case. To diminish the trouble of answering these inquiries, and to diffuse such a knowledge of his country as might be useful to persons, who intended to settle there, he wrote a pamphlet entitled *Information to those who would remove to America*, which he caused to be printed and distributed. It was translated into German by Rodolph Valltravers. In some instances he was much annoyed by correspondents, who had no claims upon him, and who wrote to him upon all sorts of subjects. It was published in a newspaper, that Dr. Franklin knew a sovereign remedy for the dropsy. This was repeated far and near, and letters came from every quarter, beseeching him to impart so invaluable a secret.

His desire to return home, and to spend the remainder of his days in the bosom of his family, increased upon him so much, that he repeatedly and earnestly solicited his recall. Deeming his services of great importance to his country, Congress delayed to comply with his request, and he submitted patiently to their decision. When he first asked permission to retire, he meditated a tour into Italy and Germany. Through his friend, Dr. Ingenhousz, physician to their Imperial Majesties, he received flattering compliments from the Emperor, and an invitation to visit Vienna. But he now found himself unable, from the infirmities of age and his peculiar maladies, to undergo the fatigues of so long a journey; and his only hope was, that he might have strength to bear a voyage across the Atlantic.

At length his request was granted, and Mr. Jeffer-

son was appointed to succeed him as minister plenipotentiary in France. His last official act was the signing of the treaty between Prussia and the United States. He was the more pleased with this act, as the treaty contained his philanthropic article against privateering, and in favor of the freedom of trade and of the protection of private property in time of war. The King of Prussia made no objection to this article. On the contrary, his ambassador, the Baron de Thulemeier, who signed the treaty, felicitated the commissioners on its being introduced. "The twenty-third article is dictated," said he, "by the purest zeal in favor of humanity. Nothing can be more just than your reflections on the noble disinterestedness of the United States of America. It is to be desired, that these sublime sentiments may be adopted by all the maritime powers without exception. The calamities of war will be much softened; and hostilities, often provoked by cupidity and the inordinate love of gain, will be of more rare occurrence." Free ships were likewise to make free goods, and contraband merchandise was exempted from confiscation. He fondly hoped, that these benevolent principles would be wrought into the law of nations; but the example has not been followed.*

Before the treaty was completed, he began to prepare for returning to America. He had resided

* Washington spoke of this treaty in terms of high commendation. In a letter to Count de Rochambeau he said; "The treaty of amity, which has lately taken place between the King of Prussia and the United States, marks a new era in negotiation. It is the most liberal treaty, which has ever been entered into between independent powers. It is perfectly original in many of its articles; and, should its principles be considered hereafter as the basis of connexion between nations, it will operate more fully to produce a general pacification, than any measure hitherto attempted amongst mankind." — *July* 31*st*, 1786.

eight years and a half in France. During that period he had been constantly engaged in public affairs of the greatest importance. As the champion of liberty he was known everywhere, and as a philosopher and sage he was revered throughout Europe. No man had received in larger measure the homage of the wise and great, or more affectionate kindness from numerous personal friends. His departure was anticipated with regret by them all. One after another they took their leave of him. The principal personages of the court testified their respect and their good wishes. "I have learned with much concern," said Count de Vergennes, "of your retiring, and of your approaching departure for America. You cannot doubt but that the regrets, which you will leave, will be proportionate to the consideration you so justly enjoy. I can assure you, Sir, that the esteem the King entertains for you does not leave you any thing to wish, and that his Majesty will learn with real satisfaction, that your fellow citizens have rewarded, in a manner worthy of you, the important services that you have rendered them. I beg, Sir, that you will preserve for me a share in your remembrance, and never doubt the sincerity of the interest I take in your happiness." The Marquis de Castries, minister of marine, wrote to him; "I was not apprized, until within a few hours, of the arrangements you have made for your departure. Had I been informed of it sooner, I should have proposed to the King to order a frigate to convey you to your own country, in such a manner as would mark the consideration which you have acquired by your distinguished services in France, and the particular esteem which his Majesty entertains for you."

His bodily infirmities were such, that he could not

bear the motion of a carriage. He left Passy on the 12th of July, in the Queen's litter, which had been kindly offered to him for his journey to Havre de Grace. This vehicle was borne by Spanish mules, and he was able to travel in it without pain or fatigue. He slept the first night at St. Germain. Some of his friends accompanied him. On the journey he passed one night at the chateau of the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld, and another in the house of M. Holker at Rouen; and he received civilities and complimentary visits from many of the inhabitants at different places. The sixth day after leaving Passy he arrived at Havre de Grace.*

From that port he passed over in a packet-boat to Southampton. Here he was met by Bishop Shipley and his family, Mr. Benjamin Vaughan, Mr. Alexander, and other friends whom he had known in England. He also found here his son, William, whom he had not seen for more than nine years. In the Revolution he had taken the side of the loyalists, and thus estranged himself from his father. He was now residing in England, where he spent the remainder of his life. Dr. Franklin continued at Southampton four days, till July 27th, when he embarked on board the *London Packet*, a Philadelphia vessel, commanded by Captain Truxtun. After a voyage of forty-eight days, without any remarkable incident, he landed at Philadelphia, on the 14th of September. M. Houdon, the artist, whom he and Mr. Jefferson had employed to make a statue of Washington for the State of Virginia, was a passenger on board the same vessel.

Dr. Franklin filled up his leisure during the passage by writing a long paper on *Improvements in Naviga-*

* See an account of the journey in the APPENDIX, No. VI.

tion, and another on *Smoky Chimneys*, the former addressed to M. Le Roy, and the latter to Dr. Ingenhousz. They were both read a few weeks afterwards to the American Philosophical Society, and were published in a volume of the Society's *Transactions*. They contain many ingenious hints and practical remarks, founded on philosophical principles, and illustrated with drawings and appropriate explanations. He also repeated his experiments for ascertaining the temperature of the sea in the Gulf Stream. He supported the inconveniences of the voyage better than he had expected, and without any apparent injury to his health. When he landed at Market-Street wharf, he was greeted by a large concourse of the inhabitants, who attended him with acclamations to his own door. The joy of the people was likewise testified by the ringing of bells and the firing of cannon.

CHAPTER XV.

Receives congratulatory Letters and Addresses. — Chosen President of Pennsylvania, and holds the Office three Years. — His private Circumstances. — Appointed a Delegate to the Convention for framing the Constitution of the United States. — His Speeches in the Convention. — His Religious Opinions. — Extracts from Dr. Cutler's Journal, describing an Interview with him. — President of the Society for Political Inquiries. — Neglect of Congress to examine and settle his Accounts. — Various Pieces written by him during the last Year of his Life. — His Illness and Death. — Funeral Ceremonies. — Tribute of Respect paid to him by Congress and other Public Bodies. — Conclusion.

As soon as his arrival was known, letters of congratulation were sent to him from all parts of the country. General Washington and Mr. Jay were among the first to welcome him on this occasion. The Assembly of Pennsylvania was then in session, and, the day after he landed, an address was presented to him by that body, in which they congratulate him, in the most cordial manner, on his safe return. "We are confident," they observe, "that we speak the sentiments of this whole country, when we say, that your services, in the public councils and negotiations, have not only merited the thanks of the present generation, but will be recorded in the pages of history, to your immortal honor. And it is particularly pleasing to us, that, while we are sitting as members of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, we have the happiness of welcoming into the State a person, who was so greatly instrumental in forming its free constitution." This was followed by similar addresses from the American Philosophical Society, and the Faculty of the University of Pennsylvania. To all of them he returned brief and appropriate answers.

From some of his letters it would appear, that, when he left France, he looked upon his public life as at an end, and anticipated the enjoyment of entire tranquillity and freedom from care, after he should be again restored to the bosom of his family. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed. He had been at home but a few days, when he was elected a member of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania. This was a preliminary step to a higher advancement; for, when the Assembly met, in October, he was chosen President of the State, the office being equivalent to that of governor in the other States. The choice was made by the joint ballot of the Assembly and Council. Under the first constitution of Pennsylvania, no individual could serve in the Council, or hold the office of President, more than three successive years, and he was then ineligible for the four years following. Dr. Franklin was annually chosen President till the end of the constitutional term, and each time by a unanimous vote, except the first, when there was one dissenting voice in seventy-seven. This unanimity is a proof, that, notwithstanding his great age and his bodily infirmities, he fulfilled the duties of the station to the complete satisfaction of the electors.

He was apparently at ease in his private circumstances, and happy in his domestic relations. He occupied himself for some time in finishing a house, which had been begun many years before, and in which he fitted up a spacious apartment for his library. In writing to a friend, he said; "I am surrounded by my offspring, a dutiful and affectionate daughter in my house, with six grandchildren, the eldest of whom you have seen, who is now at college in the next street, finishing the learned part of his education; the others promising, both for parts and good dispositions.

What their conduct may be, when they grow up and enter the important scenes of life, I shall not live to *see*, and I cannot *foresee*. I therefore enjoy among them the present hour, and leave the future to Providence." Again, to another correspondent he wrote; "I am got into my *niche*, after being kept out of it twenty-four years by foreign employments. It is a very good house, that I built so long ago to retire into, without being able till now to enjoy it. I am again surrounded by my friends, with a fine family of grandchildren about my knees, and an affectionate, good daughter and son-in-law to take care of me. And, after fifty years' public service, I have the pleasure to find the esteem of my country with regard to me undiminished." Much of his time was devoted to the society of those around him, and of the numerous visiters, whom curiosity and respect prompted to seek his acquaintance. His attachments to the many intimate friends he had left in Europe were likewise preserved by a regular and affectionate correspondence, in which are manifested the same steadiness of feeling and enlarged benevolence, the same playfulness and charm of style, that are conspicuous in the compositions of his earlier years.

He was elected one of the delegates from Pennsylvania to the Convention for forming the Constitution of the United States, which met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and continued in session four months. Although he was now in the eighty-second year of his age, and at the same time discharged the duties of President of the State, yet he attended faithfully to the business of the convention, and entered actively and heartily into the proceedings. Several of his speeches were written out and afterwards published. They are short, but well adapted to the occasion, clear, logical, and

persuasive. He never pretended to the accomplishments of an orator or debater. He seldom spoke in a deliberative assembly except for some special object, and then briefly and with great simplicity of manner and language.

After the members of the convention had been together four or five weeks, and made very little progress in the important work they had in hand, on account of their unfortunate differences of opinion and disagreements on essential points, Dr. Franklin introduced a motion for daily prayers. "In the beginning of the contest with Britain," said he, "when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the divine protection. Our prayers, Sir, were heard; and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favor. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful Friend? or do we imagine we no longer need his assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time; and, the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *that* God *governs in the affairs of men.* And, if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid? We have been assured, Sir, in the Sacred Writings, that, 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it.' I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that, without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel; we shall be divided by our little, partial, local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a by-word down to fu-

ture ages. And, what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest. I therefore beg leave to move, that henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service." The motion was not adopted, as "the convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary."

These remarks afford some insight into Dr. Franklin's religious sentiments. A good deal has been said on this subject, and sometimes without a due degree either of knowledge or charity. When Dr. Stiles, President of Yale College, questioned him about his religious faith, he replied as follows, only five weeks before his death; "I believe in one God, the Creator of the universe; that he governs it by his Providence; that he ought to be worshipped; that the most acceptable service we can render to him is doing good to his other children; that the soul of man is immortal, and will be treated with justice in another life respecting its conduct in this. These I take to be the fundamental points of all sound religion, and I regard them as you do, in whatever sect I meet with them. As to Jesus of Nazareth, my opinion of whom you particularly desire, I think his system of morals and his religion, as he left them to us, the best the world ever saw, or is like to see; but I apprehend it has received various corrupting changes, and I have, with most of the present Dissenters in England, some doubts as to his divinity; though it is a question I do not dogmatize upon, having never studied it."

This is the most explicit declaration of his faith, which is to be found anywhere in his writings; and, although it is not very precise, yet it is far from that cold and heartless infidelity, which some writers have ascribed to him, and for which charge there is certainly no just foundation.

Whatever may have been the tenor of his opinions on points of faith and doctrine, there are many evidences of his reverence for religion and for the institutions of Christianity. In early life, he composed a little book of prayers, which he was in the habit of using in his devotions. At all times he was ready to contribute liberally towards the erection of churches; and, during Whitefield's several visits to Philadelphia, he not only attended his preaching, but was his intimate companion and friend, having him sometimes as a lodger at his own house. Such was not the society, that an irreligious man would be likely to seek. In a letter of advice to his daughter, it was his solemn injunction, that she should habitually attend public worship. He wrote a Preface to an abridged edition of the Book of Common Prayer, in which he speaks impressively of the obligation and benefits of worship and other religious observances. When a skeptical writer, who is supposed to have been Thomas Paine, showed him in manuscript a work written against religion, he urged him earnestly not to publish it, but to burn it; objecting to his arguments as fallacious, and to his principles as poisoned with the seeds of vice, without tending to any imaginable good. It should, moreover, be observed, that no parts of Dr. Franklin's writings are hostile to religion; but, on the contrary, it is the direct object of some of them to inculcate virtue and piety, which he regarded not more as duties of great moment in the present life, than as an essential pre-

paration for the wellbeing of every individual in a future state of existence.

It is deeply to be regretted, that he did not bestow more attention than he seems to have done on the evidences of Christianity; because there can be little doubt, that a mind like his, quick to discover truth and always ready to receive it, would have been convinced by a full investigation of the facts and arguments adduced in proof of the Christian revelation; and especially because the example of such a man is likely to have great influence with others. Yet, when one expresses this regret, or censures this indifference, it behoves him to exercise more justice and candor than have sometimes been used, in representing what he actually believed and taught.

It had long been an opinion of Dr. Franklin, that in a democratical government there ought to be no offices of profit. The first constitution of Pennsylvania contained an article expressive of this sentiment, which was drafted by him. One of his speeches in the national convention was on the same subject. "There are two passions," said he, "which have a powerful influence in the affairs of men. These are *ambition* and *avarice;* the love of power and the love of money. Separately, each of these has great force in prompting men to action; but, when united in view of the same object, they have in many minds the most violent effects. Place before the eyes of such men a post of *honor*, that shall at the same time be a place of *profit*, and they will move Heaven and earth to obtain it. The vast number of such places it is, that renders the British government so tempestuous. The struggles for them are the true source of all those factions, which are perpetually dividing the nation, distracting its councils, hurrying it sometimes into fruitless and mischievous

wars, and often compelling a submission to dishonorable terms of peace. And of what kind are the men that will strive for this profitable preëminence, through all the bustle of cabal, the heat of contention, the infinite mutual abuse of parties, tearing to pieces the best of characters? It will not be the wise and moderate, the lovers of peace and good order, the men fittest for the trust. It will be the bold and the violent, the men of strong passions and indefatigable activity in their selfish pursuits. These will thrust themselves into your government, and be your rulers. And these, too, will be mistaken in the expected happiness of their situation; for their vanquished competitors, of the same spirit, and from the same motives, will perpetually be endeavouring to distress their administration, thwart their measures, and render them odious to the people." He thought the pleasure of doing good by serving their country, and the respect inspired by such conduct, were sufficient motives for true patriots to give up a portion of their time to the public, without a pecuniary compensation beyond the means of support while engaged in the service. In his own case, he had an opportunity of putting these principles in practice. All the money he received as President of Pennsylvania for three years he appropriated to some object of public utility; and, if the whole fifty years of his public life are taken together, it is believed that his receipts, in the form of compensation or salaries, were not enough to defray his necessary expenses.

The speech made by him at the close of the convention has been commended for its moderation, liberal spirit, and practical good sense. In the concluding part of that speech he says, "I consent to this constitution, because I expect no better, and because I am not

sure that it is not the best. The opinions I have had of its *errors* I sacrifice to the public good. I have never whispered a syllable of them abroad. Within these walls they were born, and here they shall die. If every one of us, in returning to our constituents, were to report the objections he has had to it, and endeavour to gain partisans in support of them, we might prevent its being generally received, and thereby lose all the salutary effects and great advantages resulting naturally in our favor among foreign nations, as well as among ourselves, from our real or apparent unanimity. Much of the strength and efficiency of any government, in procuring and securing happiness to the people, depends on *opinion*, on the general opinion of the goodness of that government, as well as of the wisdom and integrity of its governors. I hope, therefore, for our own sakes, as a part of the people, and for the sake of our posterity, that we shall act heartily and unanimously in recommending this constitution, wherever our influence may extend, and turn our future thoughts and endeavours to the means of having it *well administered*. On the whole, Sir, I cannot help expressing a wish, that every member of the convention who may still have objections to it, would with me on this occasion doubt a little of his own infallibility, and, to make *manifest* our *unanimity*, put his name to this instrument."

The following description presents an interesting picture of Dr. Franklin's appearance and manner at this period of his life. It is an extract from a journal written by the Reverend Dr. Manasseh Cutler, of Hamilton, Massachusetts, who was distinguished as a scholar, and particularly as a botanist. While on a visit at Philadelphia, he called to pay his respects to Dr. Franklin. The extract is dated July 13th, 1787.

"Dr. Franklin lives in Market Street. His house stands up a court, at some distance from the street. We found him in his garden, sitting upon a grass-plot, under a very large mulberry tree, with several other gentlemen and two or three ladies. When Mr. Gerry introduced me, he rose from his chair, took me by the hand, expressed his joy at seeing me, welcomed me to the city, and begged me to seat myself close to him. His voice was low, but his countenance open, frank, and pleasing. I delivered to him my letters. After he had read them, he took me again by the hand, and, with the usual compliments, introduced me to the other gentlemen, who are most of them members of the convention.

"Here we entered into a free conversation, and spent our time most agreeably, until it was quite dark. The tea table was spread under the tree, and Mrs. Bache, who is the only daughter of the Doctor, and lives with him, served it out to the company. She had three of her children about her. They seemed to be excessively fond of their grandpapa. The Doctor showed me a curiosity he had just received, and with which he was much pleased. It was a snake with two heads, preserved in a large phial. It was taken near the confluence of the Schuylkill with the Delaware, about four miles from this city. It was about ten inches long, well proportioned, the heads perfect, and united to the body about one fourth of an inch below the extremities of the jaws. The snake was of a dark brown, approaching to black, and the back beautifully speckled with white. The belly was rather checkered with a reddish color and white. The Doctor supposed it to be full grown, which I think is probable; and he thinks it must be a *sui generis* of that class of animals. He grounds his opinion of its

not being an extraordinary production, but a distinct genus, on the perfect form of the snake, the probability of its being of some age, and there having been found a snake entirely similar (of which the Doctor has a drawing, which he showed us,) near Lake Champlain, in the time of the late war. He mentioned the situation of this snake, if it was travelling among bushes, and one head should choose to go on one side of the stem of a bush, and the other head should prefer the other side, and neither of the heads would consent to come back, or give way to the other. He was then going to mention a humorous matter, that had that day occurred in the convention, in consequence of his comparing the snake to America; for he seemed to forget that every thing in the convention was to be kept a profound secret. But the secrecy of convention matters was suggested to him, which stopped him, and deprived me of the story he was going to tell.

"After it was dark we went into the house, and he invited me into his library, which is likewise his study. It is a very large chamber, and high-studded. The walls are covered with book-shelves, filled with books; besides there are four large alcoves, extending two thirds the length of the chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest and by far the best private library in America. He showed us a glass machine for exhibiting the circulation of the blood in the arteries and veins of the human body. The circulation is exhibited by the passing of a red fluid from a reservoir into numerous capillary tubes of glass, ramified in every direction, and then returning in similar tubes to the reservoir, which was done with great velocity, without any power to act visibly upon the fluid, and had the appearance of perpetual motion.

Another great curiosity was a rolling press, for taking the copies of letters or any other writing. A sheet of paper is completely copied in less than two minutes; the copy as fair as the original, and without defacing it in the smallest degree. It is an invention of his own, extremely useful in many situations of life. He also showed us his long, artificial *arm and hand*, for taking down and putting up books on high shelves, which are out of reach; and his great arm-chair, with rockers, and a large fan placed over it, with which he fans himself, keeps off the flies, &c., while he sits reading, with only a small motion of the foot; and many other curiosities and inventions, all his own, but of lesser note. Over his mantel he has a prodigious number of medals, busts, and casts in wax, or plaster of Paris, which are the effigies of the most noted characters in Europe.

"But what the Doctor wished principally to show me was a huge volume on botany, which indeed afforded me the greatest pleasure of any one thing in his library. It was a single volume, but so large, that it was with great difficulty that he was able to raise it from a low shelf, and lift it on the table. But, with that senile ambition, which is common to old people, he insisted on doing it himself, and would permit no person to assist him, merely to show us how much strength he had remaining. It contained the whole of Linnæus's *Systema Vegetabilium*, with large cuts of every plant, colored from nature. It was a feast to me, and the Doctor seemed to enjoy it as well as myself. We spent a couple of hours in examining this volume, while the other gentlemen amused themselves with other matters. The Doctor is not a botanist, but lamented he did not in early life attend to this science. He delights in Natural History, and expressed an earn-

est wish, that I should pursue the plan that I had begun, and hoped this science, so much neglected in America, would be pursued with as much ardor here as it is now in every part of Europe. I wanted, for three months at least, to have devoted myself entirely to this one volume; but, fearing lest I should be tedious to him, I shut up the volume, though he urged me to examine it longer.

"He seemed extremely fond, through the course of the visit, of dwelling on philosophical subjects, and particularly that of Natural History; while the other gentlemen were swallowed up with politics. This was a favorable circumstance for me; for almost the whole of his conversation was addressed to me, and I was highly delighted with the extensive knowledge he appeared to have of every subject, the brightness of his memory, and clearness and vivacity of all his mental faculties, notwithstanding his age. His manners are perfectly easy, and every thing about him seems to diffuse an unrestrained freedom and happiness. He has an incessant vein of humor, accompanied with an uncommon vivacity, which seems as natural and involuntary as his breathing. He urged me to call on him again, but my short stay would not admit. We took our leave at ten, and I retired to my lodgings." *

While the States were engaged in electing delegates to the convention, there was much speculation as to the results of this experiment, and political discussions abounded in all parts of the country. Partaking of the common impulse, a number of gentlemen in Philadelphia formed themselves into an association, called the *Society for Political Inquiries*, the design of which is well expressed by its name. Dr. Frank-

* Communicated to the Editor by Mr. Caleb Emerson, who transcribed it from the original Journal.

lin was chosen president, and the meetings were usually held at his house. For some time they were well attended; various topics of general politics were discussed; essays were written, and prize questions proposed. But, after having been in operation about two years, the society languished, and it was finally dissolved by the tacit consent of the members. He was also president of a *Society for alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons.*

Dr. Franklin's third and last year's service, as President of Pennsylvania, expired in October, 1788. After that time he held no public office, although he was often consulted on public measures.

His sensibility seems to have been touched by the neglect of Congress to settle his accounts, or even to notice in any way his long and faithful services to the public. Before he left France, his pecuniary transactions were examined in detail by Mr. Barclay, the commissioner appointed by Congress to liquidate and settle the accounts of the agents of the United States, who had been intrusted with the expenditure of public money in Europe. The result of Mr. Barclay's examination differed from Dr. Franklin's statement only seven sols, or about six cents, which sum he had by mistake overcharged. Mr. Barclay was ready to settle the accounts as they then stood; but Dr. Franklin requested that they might be submitted to the inspection of Congress, because he believed there were some other charges, which ought properly to be paid by the public, but which Mr. Barclay did not feel authorized by his instructions to allow. The accounts were accordingly kept open, and transmitted to Congress. One of the first things, which Dr. Franklin did on his arrival in Philadelphia, was to send his grandson to New York, where Congress were then in session, to

obtain a settlement. He returned unsuccessful, being told that necessary documents were expected from France, although the vouchers had all been examined by Mr. Barclay. After waiting a long time, without hearing any thing from Congress on the subject, Dr. Franklin wrote a letter to the President, containing an earnest request that the business might be taken up and considered.

"It is now more than three years," said he, "that those accounts have been before that honorable body, and, to this day, no notice of any such objection has been communicated to me. But reports have, for some time past, been circulated here, and propagated in the newspapers, that I am greatly indebted to the United States for large sums, that had been put into my hands, and that I avoid a settlement. This, together with the little time one of my age may expect to live, makes it necessary for me to request earnestly, which I hereby do, that the Congress would be pleased, without further delay, to examine those accounts, and if they find therein any article or articles, which they do not understand or approve, that they would cause me to be acquainted with the same, that I may have an opportunity of offering such explanations or reasons in support of them as may be in my power, and then that the accounts may be finally closed. I hope the Congress will soon be able to attend to this business for the satisfaction of the public, as well as in condescension to my request."

This act of justice was not rendered. The accounts were never settled, nor was any allowance made for what he conceived to be equitable demands for extraordinary services. It is true, that, after this letter was written, the deranged state of the Old Congress, in consequence of the non-attendance of members, may

have prevented its being brought regularly before that body; but there is no apology for the previous neglect of three years; nor does there appear any good reason why the business should not have been resumed, and honorably adjusted by the first Congress under the new constitution.

The zeal with which he had promoted the first establishment of an Academy in Philadelphia, forty years before, was revived during the last year of his life. He believed that the intentions of the original founders had not been fulfilled, in regard to the English school connected with that institution, and that the study of Greek and Latin had gradually gained too great an ascendency. He wrote a long and very interesting paper, in which he sketched a history of the Academy, with an account of the transactions of its founders and early supporters, claiming a larger attention, than had hitherto been given, to English studies, as well on the ground of utility, as on that of the state of learning in modern times. Committees occasionally met at his house. One evening the conversation turned upon the study of the Greek and Latin languages in schools. Franklin was of the opinion, that they engrossed too much time. He said, that, when the custom of wearing broad cuffs with buttons first began, there was a reason for it; the cuffs might be brought down over the hands, and thus guard them from wet and cold. But gloves came into use, and the broad cuffs were unnecessary; yet the custom was still retained. So likewise with cocked hats. The wide brim, when let down, afforded a protection from the rain and sun. Umbrellas were introduced, yet fashion prevailed to keep cocked hats in vogue, although they were rather cumbersome than useful. Thus with the Latin language. When nearly

all the books in Europe were written in that language, the study of it was essential in every system of education; but it is now scarcely needed, except as an accomplishment, since it has everywhere given place, as a vehicle of thought and knowledge, to some one of the modern tongues.

At this time, Dr. Franklin was seldom free from acute bodily pain; but, during short intervals of relief, he wrote several other pieces, which exhibit proofs that his mind never acted with more vigor, or maintained a more cheerful and equable tone. One of these pieces is entitled *The Court of the Press*, in which he remarks with severity on the practice of certain editors of newspapers, who attack the characters of individuals, and shield themselves under a false interpretation of the liberty of the press. Another paper, called a *Comparison of the Conduct of the Ancient Jews and the Antifederalists of the United States*, is intended as a reproof to some of those who opposed the new constitution. Urged by the repeated solicitations of his friends, he likewise employed himself occasionally in writing his memoirs; but he seems not to have made so much progress in this work, as he had anticipated when he returned from Europe.

He also drew up a *Plan for improving the Condition of the Free Blacks*. His last public act was to sign, as president, a memorial from the Abolition Society of Pennsylvania to Congress; and the last paper which he wrote was on the same subject. Mr. Jackson, a member of Congress from Georgia, had made a speech in favor of negro slavery. An ingenious parody of this speech was composed by Dr. Franklin, in which Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim is represented as speaking, in the Divan of Algiers, against granting the petition of a sect called *Erika*, who prayed for the abo-

lition of piracy and slavery, as being unjust. In this pretended speech of Ibrahim, the same principles were advanced, and the same arguments were used in defence of plundering and enslaving Europeans, that had been urged by Mr. Jackson in justification of negro slavery. It is dated only twenty-four days before the author's decease; and, as a specimen of happy conception and sound reasoning, it is not inferior to any of his writings.

The state of his health and of his feelings may be inferred from a letter to President Washington, written on the 16th of September, 1789, in which he speaks as follows;

"My malady renders my sitting up to write rather painful to me; but I cannot let my son-in-law, Mr. Bache, part for New York, without congratulating you by him on the recovery of your health, so precious to us all, and on the growing strength of our new government under your administration. For my own personal ease, I should have died two years ago; but, though those years have been spent in excruciating pain, I am pleased that I have lived them, since they have brought me to see our present situation. I am now finishing my eighty-fourth year, and probably with it my career in this life; but, in whatever state of existence I am placed in hereafter, if I retain any memory of what has passed here, I shall with it retain the esteem, respect, and affection, with which I have long been, my dear friend, yours most sincerely."

Washington's reply was cordial and affectionate. Between these two distinguished patriots, who served their country in different spheres, but with equal fidelity and devotedness, there was ever a sincere friendship and an entire confidence. When General Washington came to Philadelphia as a member of the

national convention for forming the constitution, the first person he called upon was Dr. Franklin; and, when he passed through that city on his way to New York, where he was to be invested with the office of President of the United States, he paid him the same tribute of respect.

Although his malady and his sufferings continued, yet no material change in his health was observed till the first part of April, 1790, when he was attacked with a fever and a pain in the breast. From that time he was constantly under the care of Dr. John Jones, an eminent physician of Philadelphia, who wrote the following account of his illness and death.

"The stone, with which he had been afflicted for several years, had, for the last twelve months of his life, confined him chiefly to his bed; and, during the extremely painful paroxysms, he was obliged to take large doses of laudanum to mitigate his tortures. Still, in the intervals of pain, he not only amused himself by reading and conversing cheerfully with his family and a few friends who visited him, but was often employed in doing business of a public, as well as of a private nature, with various persons who waited upon him for that purpose; and, in every instance, displayed not only the readiness and disposition to do good, which were the distinguishing characteristics of his life, but the fullest and clearest possession of his uncommon abilities. He also not unfrequently indulged in those *jeux d'esprit* and entertaining anecdotes, which were the delight of all who heard them.

"About sixteen days before his death, he was seized with a feverish disposition, without any particular symptoms attending it till the third or fourth day, when he complained of a pain in his left breast, which increased till it became extremely acute, attended by

a cough and laborious breathing. During this state, when the severity of his pains drew forth a groan of complaint, he would observe, that he was afraid he did not bear them as he ought; acknowledging his grateful sense of the many blessings he had received from the Supreme Being, who had raised him, from small and low beginnings, to such high rank and consideration among men; and made no doubt but that his present afflictions were kindly intended to wean him from a world in which he was no longer fit to act the part assigned him. In this frame of body and mind, he continued until five days before his death, when the pain and difficulty of breathing entirely left him, and his family were flattering themselves with the hopes of his recovery; but an imposthume which had formed in his lungs, suddenly burst, and discharged a quantity of matter, which he continued to throw up while he had power; but, as that failed, the organs of respiration became gradually oppressed; a calm, lethargic state succeeded; and on the 17th instant (April, 1790), about eleven o'clock at night, he quietly expired, closing a long and useful life of eighty-four years and three months." *

In a letter from Dr. Rush to Dr. Price, dated at Philadelphia, a week after this event, the writer says; "The papers will inform you of the death of our late illustrious friend Dr. Franklin. The evening of his life was marked by the same activity of his moral and intellectual powers, which distinguished its meridian. His conversation with his family, upon the sub-

* Dr. Jones added the following particulars. "In the year 1735, Dr. Franklin had a severe pleurisy, which terminated in an abscess of his lungs; and he was then almost suffocated by the quantity and suddenness of the discharge. A second attack, of a similar nature, happened some years after, from which he soon recovered; and he did not appear to suffer any inconvenience in his respiration from these diseases."

ject of his dissolution, was free and cheerful. A few days before he died, he rose from his bed, and begged that it might be made up for him, so that he *might die in a decent manner.* His daughter told him, that she hoped he would recover, and live many years longer. He calmly replied, '*I hope not.*' Upon being advised to change his position in bed, that he might breathe *easy,* he said, '*A dying man can do nothing easy.*' — All orders and bodies of people among us have vied with each other in paying tributes of respect to his memory." *

The following extracts are from a letter written by Mrs. Mary Hewson to Mr. Viny, one of Dr. Franklin's early friends in England.

"We have lost that valued, that venerable, kind friend, whose knowledge enlightened our minds, and whose philanthropy warmed our hearts. But we have the consolation to think, that, if a life well spent in acts of universal benevolence to mankind, a grateful acknowledgment of Divine favor, a patient submission under severe chastisement, and an humble trust in Almighty mercy, can insure the happiness of a future state, our present loss is his gain. I was the faithful witness of the closing scene, which he sustained with that calm fortitude which characterized him through life. No repining, no peevish expression, ever escaped him, during a confinement of two years, in which, I believe, if every moment of ease could be added together the sum would not amount to two whole months. When the pain was not too violent to be amused, he employed himself with his books, his pen, or in conversation with his friends; and upon every occasion displayed the clearness of his intellect and the cheerfulness of his temper. Even when the in-

* See MORGAN'S *Life of Price,* p. 147.

tervals from pain were so short, that his words were frequently interrupted, I have known him to hold a discourse in a sublime strain of piety. I say this to you, because I know it will give you pleasure."

"I never shall forget one day that I passed with our friend last summer. I found him in bed in great agony; but, when that agony abated a little, I asked if I should read to him. He said, Yes; and the first book I met with was Johnson's 'Lives of the Poets.' I read the Life of Watts, who was a favorite author with Dr. Franklin; and, instead of lulling him to sleep, it roused him to a display of the powers of his memory and his reason. He repeated several of Watts's 'Lyric Poems,' and descanted upon their sublimity in a strain worthy of them and of their pious author. It is natural for us to wish that an attention to some ceremonies had accompanied that religion of the heart, which I am convinced Dr. Franklin always possessed; but let us, who feel the benefit of them, continue to practise them, without thinking lightly of that piety, which could support pain without a murmur, and meet death without terror."*

The funeral solemnities took place on the 21st of April. It was computed that more than twenty thousand people were assembled. In the procession were the clergy, the Mayor and Corporation of the City, the members of the Executive Council and of the Assembly of Pennsylvania, the Faculty and Students of the College of Philadelphia, the Philosophical Society, and several other societies, followed by a numerous train of citizens. All the bells of the city

* See the London *Monthly Repository*, Vol. XVI. p. 3. An account of Mrs. Hewson and of her family may be seen in the present work, Vol. VII. p. 150. The letter from which the above extracts are taken, is dated at Philadelphia, May 5th, 1790.

were muffled and tolled; the flags of the vessels in the harbour were raised half-mast high; and discharges of artillery announced the time when the body was laid in the earth. Franklin was interred by the side of his wife, in the cemetery of Christ's Church. A plain marble slab covers the two graves, according to the direction in his will, with no other inscription than their names and the year of his decease. It yet remains for the city of his adoption, by erecting an appropriate monument, to render the same tribute of respect to his memory, which the city of his birth has rendered to that of his father and mother.

When the news of his death reached Congress, then sitting in New York, a resolution was moved by Mr. Madison, and unanimously adopted, that the members should wear the customary badge of mourning for one month, "as a mark of veneration due to the memory of a citizen, whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his country." * A similar resolution was passed by the Executive Council of Pennsylvania. The American Philosophical Society appointed one of their number, the Reverend Dr. William Smith, to pronounce a discourse commemorative of his character and his virtues. Nor were such honors confined to his own country. By a decree of the National Assembly of France, introduced by an eloquent speech from Mirabeau, and seconded by Lafayette and La Rochefoucauld, the members of that body wore a badge of mourning for three days, and the President wrote a letter of condolence to the Congress of the

* See Appendix, No. VII.

United States. A public celebration was ordered by the *Commune* of Paris, which was attended by a large concourse of public officers and citizens, and a eulogy was pronounced by the Abbé Fauchet. Many other testimonies of respect were shown by the different scientific and literary societies in Paris, and eulogies were written by some of their most distinguished members.

Dr. Franklin was well formed and strongly built, in his latter years inclining to corpulency; his stature was five feet nine or ten inches; his eyes were grey, and his complexion light. Affable in his deportment, unobtrusive, easy, and winning in his manners, he rendered himself agreeable to persons of every rank in life. With his intimate friends he conversed freely, but with strangers and in mixed company he was reserved, and sometimes taciturn. His great fund of knowledge, and experience in human affairs, contributed to give a peculiar charm to his conversation, enriched as it was by original reflections, and enlivened by a vein of pleasantry, and by anecdotes and ingenious apologues, in the happy recollection and use of which he was unsurpassed.

The strong and distinguishing features of his mind were sagacity, quickness of perception, and soundness of judgment. His imagination was lively, without being extravagant. In short, he possessed a perfect mastery over the faculties of his understanding and over his passions. Having this power always at command, and never being turned aside either by vanity or selfishness, he was enabled to pursue his objects with a directness and constancy, that rarely failed to insure success. It was as fortunate for the world, as it was for his own fame, that the benevolence of such a man was limited only by his means and opportuni-

ties of doing good, and that, in every sphere of action through a long course of years, his single aim was to promote the happiness of his fellow men by enlarging their knowledge, improving their condition, teaching them practical lessons of wisdom and prudence, and inculcating the principles of rectitude and the habits of a virtuous life.

In the preceding narrative it has been the author's design to touch briefly upon all the principal events in the life of Franklin, from the time his own narrative breaks off, according to the method adopted by him in his memoirs of himself, and not to write an essay on his genius and character, nor an historical account of his discoveries as a philosopher and his achievements as a statesman and moralist. Such an attempt would have required much more space than has been allotted to this performance; and in the present case it is the less to be desired, as this biographical sketch is connected with his writings, in which, particularly in his moral essays and correspondence, will be found a better representation of his character and of what he accomplished, than the reader could hope to derive from any other source.

APPENDIX.

numerous. It is likewise probable, that one or two other families, of the name of Franklin, settled in Boston some time afterwards; but it is believed that no relationship can be traced between any of these families and that to which Dr. Franklin belonged.

When Josiah Franklin established himself in Boston he had three children, born at Banbury, in Oxfordshire. After the birth of four others, his first wife died. He then married Abiah Folger, daughter of Peter Folger, of Nantucket, probably in the early part of the year 1690. By this marriage he had ten children, making seventeen in the whole; ten sons and seven daughters. BENJAMIN was the youngest son, and the fifteenth child, his sisters Lydia and Jane being younger.

All the brothers and sisters of Josiah Franklin lived and died in England, except Benjamin, who emigrated to Boston in the year 1715. His son, Samuel, a cutler by trade, had preceded him. This Benjamin was born March 20th, 1650. At the age of sixteen he began to learn the trade of a silk-dyer, and served an apprenticeship of seven years. He afterwards set up that business in London, and followed it there till he removed to America. He was married to Hannah Welles, daughter of Samuel Welles, a clergyman of Banbury, on the 23d of November, 1683. In one of the manuscript volumes of poems, mentioned by Dr. Franklin, is the following printed advertisement. — "Wrought things, printed English or India calicos, cloth, silk, and stuff, scoured; linen, cloth, silk, and stuff, dyed, printed, or watered; and black cloth, silk, and stuff, dyed into colors; by Benjamin Franklin, at the Indian Queen, in Princes-Street, near Leicester Fields." — He had ten children, six sons and four daughters. They all died young, except Samuel, the eldest. His wife died on the 4th of November, 1705. From a brief account of himself, preserved in manuscript, and from some of his pieces in rhyme, he seems to have had many afflictions. Poverty, adversity, and sickness pursued him through life. When he left England, his wife and all his children, except his eldest son then in Boston, had been dead several years. After his arrival in Boston, he lived with his brother Josiah four years, till 1719, when he went to reside with his son, who had recently been married and become a housekeeper.

The manuscript volumes of poetry, before mentioned, are curious. The handwriting is beautiful, with occasional specimens of short-hand, in which Dr. Franklin says his uncle was skilled. The poetical merits of the compositions cannot be ranked high, but frequently the measure is smooth and the rhymes are well chosen.

His thoughts run chiefly on moral and religious subjects. Many of the Psalms are paraphrased in metre. The making of acrostics on the names of his friends was a favorite exercise. There are likewise numerous proofs of his ingenuity in forming anagrams, crosses, ladders, and other devices. The specimens below were written to his nephew and namesake; the first two, when he was four years and a half old.

Sent to his Namesake, upon a Report of his Inclination to Martial Affairs, July 7th, 1710.

"Believe me, Ben, it is a dangerous trade,
The sword has many marred as well as made;
By it do many fall, not many rise,—
Makes many poor, few rich, and fewer wise;
Fills towns with ruin, fields with blood; beside
'T is sloth's maintainer, and the shield of pride.
Fair cities, rich to-day in plenty flow,
War fills with want to-morrow, and with woe.
Ruined estates, the nurse of vice, broke limbs and scars,
Are the effects of desolating wars."

ACROSTIC,

Sent to Benjamin Franklin in New England, July 15th, 1710.

"Be to thy parents an obedient son;
Each day let duty constantly be done;
Never give way to sloth, or lust, or pride,
If free you 'd be from thousand ills beside;
Above all ills be sure avoid the shelf
Man's danger lies in, Satan, sin, and self.
In virtue, learning, wisdom, progress make;
Ne'er shrink at suffering for thy Saviour's sake.

"Fraud and all falsehood in thy dealings flee,
Religious always in thy station be;
Adore the Maker of thy inward part,
Now 's the accepted time, give him thy heart;
Keep a good conscience, 't is a constant friend,
Like judge and witness this thy acts attend.
In heart with bended knee, alone, adore
None but the Three in One for evermore."

The following piece was sent when his *Namesake* was seven years old. It would appear that he had received from him some evidence of his juvenile skill in composition.

Sent to Benjamin Franklin, 1713.

"'T is time for me to throw aside my pen,
When hanging sleeves read, write, and rhyme like men.
This forward spring foretells a plenteous crop;
For, if the bud bear grain, what will the top!
If plenty in the verdant blade appear,
What may we not soon hope for in the ear!
When flowers are beautiful before they 're blown,
What rarities will afterward be shown!
If trees good fruit un'noculated bear,
You may be sure 't will afterward be rare.
If fruits are sweet before they 've time to yellow,
How luscious will they be when they are mellow!
If first years' shoots such noble clusters send,
What laden boughs, Engedi-like, may we expect in the end!"

These lines are more prophetic, perhaps, than the writer imagined. He continued to make verses, and to turn the Psalms into rhyme, after he came to New England. The precise time of his death is not known. He was living in 1727, and probably died the year following, at the age of seventy-eight.

His son, Samuel, had a son of the same name, born October 21st, 1721. He was an only child. He followed the trade of his father, and died in Boston, February 21st, 1775, leaving four daughters. 1. Eunice, married to Benjamin Callender. 2. Hannah, married to Samuel Emmons. 3. Sarah, married to Jerome Ripley. 4. Elizabeth, married to William Clouston. The last three are now living, in 1839.

The ancestors of Abiah Folger, the mother of Dr. Franklin, emigrated from England to America. In a letter to his sister, dated in London, January 13th, 1772, he says; "No arms of the Folgers are found in the Herald's Office. I am persuaded it was originally a Flemish family, which came over with many others from that country in Queen Elizabeth's time, flying from the persecution then raging there." For the following facts relating to the family in America, I am chiefly indebted to Mr. William C. Folger, of Nantucket, who has made a diligent search in the early records of that Island and of Martha's Vineyard.

There is a tradition in the family, that John Folger, and his son Peter Folger, (the name was then written Foulger,) crossed the Atlantic in the same vessel with Hugh Peters, in the year 1635. They came from Norwich, in the county of Norfolk, England. Peter was then eighteen years old, and of course was born in the year 1617. The father and son settled at Martha's Vineyard.

The time is not exactly known, but it is supposed to have been very soon after they came to the country. It has not been ascertained whether John Folger's wife came with him, or whether she had died in England, and he married again in America. The name of his wife, Meribell, is mentioned in the records of Martha's Vineyard. He died about 1660. His wife was living in 1663. Peter was his only child.

In the year 1644, Peter Folger married Mary Morrell, who had been an inmate in Hugh Peters's family. He resided at Martha's Vineyard till 1663, when he removed to Nantucket, being among the first settlers of that Island. He was a man of considerable learning, particularly in mathematical science, and he practised surveying both in the Vineyard and Nantucket. He was one of the five commissioners first appointed to measure and lay out the land on the Island of Nantucket; and it was said in the order, that "whatsoever shall be done by them or any three of them, *Peter Folger being one*, shall be accounted legal and valid." This mode of wording the order shows the confidence that was placed in his integrity and judgment.

He acquired the Indian language, and served as interpreter, both in affairs of business, and in communicating religious instruction to the Indians. He rendered assistance in this way to the Reverend Thomas Mayhew, the distinguished missionary at Martha's Vineyard. Mr. Prince, in his account of Mayhew, says, that he had "an able and godly Englishman, named Peter Foulger, employed in teaching the youth in reading, writing, and the principles of religion by catechizing; being well learned likewise in the Scriptures, and capable of helping them in religious matters."* He is said to have preached on some occasions. There is a long letter from him to his son-in-law, Joseph Pratt, containing religious counsel, with much use of Scripture, according to the practice of those times. Indeed his poem, entitled *A Looking-Glass for the Times*, published in 1676, shows that he was not only well informed in theology, but in political affairs, such as they then were in New England. He died in 1690, and his widow in 1704.

The children of Peter and Mary Folger were, 1. Johannah, who married John Coleman. 2. Bethiah, married John Barnard, February, 1668–9. They were both drowned four months afterwards by the upsetting of a boat, while crossing from Nantucket

* See MAYHEW's *Indian Converts*, p. 291.

to the Vineyard. 3. Dorcas, married Joseph Pratt. 4. Ebenezer, born 1645, married Sarah Gardner. 5. Bethiah, married —— Pope. 6. Patience, married Ebenezer Hunkin. 7. John, born 1659, married Mary Barnard. 8. Experience, married John Swain. 9. Abiah, born August 15th, 1667, married Josiah Franklin.

Joseph Pratt lived at one time in Nantucket, but is supposed to have removed to Boston. Some of the descendants of Pope also lived in Boston. John Pope was a physician of some eminence. Joseph Pope was ingenious in mechanics, and constructed the orrery in Harvard College. Robert Pope was a watchmaker, skilful in his art. The other children of Peter Folger and their descendants have nearly all resided in Nantucket. A son of Eleazer, of the same name, served as register of probate forty-seven years, and died in 1753, aged eighty-one. He was succeeded by his son Frederick, who held the same office thirty-seven years, and died in 1790, at the age of sixty-five. Peleg, a brother of Frederick, wrote many pieces in prose and verse, and was distinguished for his piety and estimable character; he died in 1789, aged fifty-five. Nathan, another son of the first Eleazer, had several children. His son Abisha was justice of the peace, and for thirty years represented the town in the legislature. Barzillai, another son of Nathan, commanded a vessel in the London trade. Abisha had a large family of children. Among them were William, George, and Timothy; the last of whom was justice of the peace and a merchant. He took an active part with the patriots at the beginning of the Revolution. There is a portrait of him by Copley. Barzillai likewise had many children. Among them was Walter, a man of great strength of mind, of strict probity and honor, a good mathematician, at one time commander of a vessel, and for many years a merchant and ship-owner. He died much respected in 1826, in the ninety-second year of his age. His son, Walter Folger, known as the astronomer of Nantucket, was born in 1765, and is still living (in 1839). Many years ago he invented and constructed a very ingenious astronomical clock. He also made a telescope with a magnifying power of about five hundred. The above are descendants of Eleazer, the son of Peter. His other son, John, had children, from whom have sprung descendants, but they are less known.

Although Dr. Franklin's grandfather had five sons, and his father five, who grew up to man's estate, were married, and together had a large number of children, yet there is not an individual in the male line, bearing the name, now remaining. Thomas

Franklin was the only one in England as long ago as 1766. Dr. Franklin found him at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, poor and destitute, and contributed to his relief for several years. He supported and educated his only child, Sally, till she was married. He was living at Lutterworth, very old, in 1791. His daughter died in 1782. There is none bearing the name in America, who descended from this family. Dr. Franklin's brothers, John and James, each had a son, but these died without children. His first cousin, Samuel, likewise had a son, but the children of this son were four daughters. Dr. Franklin's eldest son, William, died in London, November, 1813. His wife, whom he married in London, 1762, just after he was appointed governor of New Jersey, died in 1777. As he took the side of the loyalists in the Revolution, he went to England after the war, received a pension from the King, and remained there till his death. He had an only son, William Temple, who died without issue. Dr. Franklin's other son, Francis Folger, died in childhood. His daughter, Sarah, was born September 11th, 1744; married Richard Bache, October 29th, 1767; died October 5th, 1808. The children of Richard and Sarah Bache, were, 1. Benjamin Franklin Bache, born 1769, married Margaret Markoe, died 1798, during the yellow fever in Philadelphia. 2. William, married Catherine Wistar, died 1814. 3. Elizabeth, married John Harwood. 4. Louis. 5. Deborah, married William J. Duane. 6. Richard, married the eldest daughter of Alexander J. Dallas. 7. Sarah, married Thomas Sergeant. Their descendants are numerous.

It appears by Dr. Franklin's Will, that, at the time of his death, there were living descendants of his brothers Samuel and James, and of his sisters, Anne, Sarah, Lydia, and Jane. He left a small bequest to each of them.

The basis of the subjoined Genealogical Table is a paper supposed to have been drawn up by Dr. Franklin. It has been enlarged, and in some instances corrected, particularly in the dates, from the Record of Births in Boston, from Dr. Franklin's letters in which he speaks of his family, and from the manuscript volumes of his uncle Benjamin, which contain various particulars illustrative of this subject.

PEDIGREE OF THE FAMILY OF FRANKLIN

ARMS. [illegible]

1. Thomas Francklyne, of Ecton, in Northamptonshire.

2. Margaret Francklyne, married [illegible] Ecton. No issue.

1. Robert, son of Thomas Francklyne, born at Ecton, 3 April, 15[illegible]. No account of his issue or death.
2. Jane, born 1 August, 156[illegible], died 24 August, 156[illegible], at Ecton.
3. John, born [illegible] May, 15[illegible]. No account of his issue or death.
4. James, born [illegible] May, 15[illegible]. No account of his issue or death, but might be the father of Nicholas Francklyne, who [illegible] Feb., 16[illegible], married Audrey Bett, who died [illegible] Feb., 16[illegible].
5. Henry, born [illegible] May, 15[illegible], married [illegible] October, 15[illegible], died [illegible] Oct., 16[illegible]. — Agnes Jones, died [illegible] Jan., 16[illegible].

1. Thomas, born [illegible] Feb., 15[illegible], died 11 Aug., 16[illegible]. — 1st wife, Jane White, was much younger than he, being born when he was at man's estate, but he waited for her, she being the child of a neighbour and particular friend. Married in 16[illegible]. She died and was buried at Ecton, [illegible] Oct., 16[illegible].
2. [illegible] 2d Thomas, b. [illegible] Oct., 15[illegible], died at Banbury, and was buried there, [illegible] March, 16[illegible]. — 2d wife, [illegible], died at Ecton, 16[illegible].

1. Thomas, born 11 March, 1637, at Ecton, died [illegible] Jan., 1702. — [illegible] Ecton [illegible], d. 14 March, 1711.
   - Mary, born 24 Oct., 16[illegible], by whom she had only one daughter. — Richard Fisher.
   - Eleanor, who died without issue, aged about 40 years.
2. Samuel, b. [illegible] Nov., 16[illegible], died 16[illegible], left no issue.
3, 4. Sons, died young, names are lost.
5. John, born at Ecton, had one son and five daughters at Banbury; died [illegible] June, 16[illegible], at [illegible]. — Anne [illegible].
   1. Thomas, died at Birmingham, about 1702. Left one son, Thomas, a [illegible] dyer at Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, living in 1711, very old. He had a daughter Sally, married [illegible] Pierce, 17[illegible]; she died in 17[illegible], leaving one son.
   2. Hannah, married in London, died at Banbury. Left no issue.
   3. Anne, married [illegible] Farrow, had, in 17[illegible], one daughter at Castlethorpe, near Buckingham, within [illegible] miles.
   4. Mary, married in London, died there. No issue.
   5. Jane, married Robert Page, had no children, died at Banbury, 17[illegible].
   6. Eleanor, died at Banbury. No issue.
6. [illegible], lived in [illegible], died at [illegible] Nov., 16[illegible], had only one son, [illegible] after his death. — Sarah [illegible].
   - [illegible], born 16[illegible], died 10 May, 16[illegible]. No issue.

7. Benjamin, b. 20 March, 1650. Emigrated to Boston, in New England, 1715, and died there, probably in 172[illegible]. — Hannah, dau. of Samuel Welles, minister of Banbury, mar. 23 Nov., 16[illegible], died [illegible] Nov., 170[illegible], æt. [illegible].
   1. Samuel, b. in Goodman's Fields, m. in N. England twice, and by first wife had only one son, Samuel, who was b. 21 Oct., 1721, d. 21 Feb., 177[illegible].
   2. Benjamin
   3. Jane
   4. Hannah
   5. Thomas
   6. Elizabeth
   7. Mary
   8. John
   9. Joseph
   10. Joseph

   Born in Christ Church parish, London. All died young, and without issue.

   4. Josiah, born [illegible] Aug., 16[illegible], lost at sea about 17[illegible]. No issue.
   5. Anne, born 16[illegible], married [illegible] Harris, of Ipswich; had many children.
   6. Joseph, born 16[illegible], died an infant.
   7. Joseph, born 30 June, 1688, died a child.

8. Hannah, born [illegible] Oct., [illegible], bur. at Ecton, d. 1[illegible]. — John Morris, died 1[illegible] June, 1[illegible].
   1. Eleanor
   2. Jane
   3. Hannah
   1. Eleanor, born at Ecton, 2 March, 16[illegible], married twice. No children. [illegible] Dowse, 2d husband, living in 17[illegible], in Boston.
   2. Mary, b. at Banbury, 10 May, 16[illegible], m. [illegible] in N. England.
   3. Hannah, b. at Banbury, 2[illegible] May, 16[illegible], married first Joseph Eddy, afterwards [illegible]. No issue.

9. Josiah, b. [illegible] Dec., 16[illegible], emig. to N. Eng. about 168[illegible], d. in Jan., 17[illegible]. — 1st wife, Anne [illegible]. — 2d wife, Abiah Folger, dau. of Peter Folger, b. at Nantucket, [illegible] Aug., 16[illegible], m. 16[illegible], d. 17[illegible].
   - Three, [illegible], by 1st wife, born in Boston.
   8. John, born [illegible] Dec., 16[illegible], married [illegible], died Jan., 17[illegible], had but one son, John, lost at sea, a young man grown.
   9. Peter, b. [illegible] Nov., 16[illegible], m. Mary [illegible], d. [illegible] July, 17[illegible]. No issue.
   10. Mary, born [illegible] Sept., 16[illegible], married Robert Holmes. Left children.
   11. James, b. [illegible] Feb., 16[illegible], m. Anne [illegible], d. Feb., 17[illegible]. Left [illegible] children. His widow d. [illegible] April, 17[illegible]. His son James d. [illegible] Aug., 17[illegible].
   12. Sarah, born [illegible] Jan., 16[illegible], married Joseph Davenport. Left children. Died [illegible] May, 17[illegible].
   13. Ebenezer, born [illegible] Sept., 17[illegible], drowned when a child.
   14. Thomas, born [illegible] Dec., 17[illegible], died young.
   15. BENJAMIN, born [illegible] Jan., 17[illegible], married Deborah Read, 1 Sept., 17[illegible], died 17 April, 17[illegible]. His wife died 19 Dec., 17[illegible].
   16. Lydia, born [illegible] Aug., 17[illegible], married Robert Scott, 17[illegible].
   17. Jane, born 27 March, 171[illegible], married Edward Mecom, [illegible] July, 17[illegible], died in 17[illegible].

No. II. p. 67.

JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE FROM LONDON TO PHILADELPHIA.

Journal of Occurrences in my Voyage to Philadelphia on board the Berkshire, Henry Clark, Master, from London.

Friday, July 22d, 1726. — Yesterday in the afternoon we left London, and came to an anchor off Gravesend about eleven at night. I lay ashore all night, and this morning took a walk up to the Windmill Hill, whence I had an agreeable prospect of the country for about twenty miles round, and two or three reaches of the river, with ships and boats sailing both up and down, and Tilbury Fort on the other side, which commands the river and passage to London. This Gravesend is a *cursed biting* place; the chief dependence of the people being the advantage they make of imposing upon strangers. If you buy any thing of them, and give half what they ask, you pay twice as much as the thing is worth. Thank God, we shall leave it to-morrow.

Saturday, July 23d. — This day we weighed anchor and fell down with the tide, there being little or no wind. In the afternoon we had a fresh gale, that brought us down to Margate, where we shall lie at anchor this night. Most of the passengers are very sick. Saw several porpoises, &c.

Sunday, July 24th. — This morning we weighed anchor, and coming to the Downs, we set our pilot ashore at Deal, and passed through. And now, whilst I write this, sitting upon the quarter-deck, I have, methinks, one of the pleasantest scenes in the world before me. 'T is a fine, clear day, and we are going away before the wind with an easy, pleasant gale. We have near fifteen sail of ships in sight, and I may say in company. On the left hand appears the coast of France at a distance, and on the right is the town and castle of Dover, with the green hills and chalky cliffs of England, to which we must now bid farewell. Albion, farewell!

Monday, July 25th. — All the morning calm. After noon sprung up a gale at east; blew very hard all night. Saw the Isle of Wight at a distance.

Tuesday, July 26th. — Contrary winds all day, blowing pretty hard. Saw the Isle of Wight again in the evening.

Wednesday, July 27th. — This morning, the wind blowing very hard at west, we stood in for the land, in order to make some harbour. About noon we took on board a pilot out of a fishing shallop, who brought the ship into Spithead, off Portsmouth. The captain, Mr. Denham, and myself went on shore, and, during the little time we stayed, I made some observations on the place.

Portsmouth has a fine harbour. The entrance is so narrow, that you may throw a stone from fort to fort; yet it is near ten fathom deep, and bold close to; but within there is room enough for five hundred, or, for aught I know, a thousand sail of ships. The town is strongly fortified, being encompassed with a high wall and a deep and broad ditch, and two gates, that are entered over drawbridges; besides several forts, batteries of large cannon, and other outworks, the names of which I know not, nor had I time to take so strict a view as to be able to describe them. In war time, the town has a garrison of ten thousand men; but at present it is only manned by about one hundred invalids. Notwithstanding the English have so many fleets of men-of-war at sea at this time,* I counted in this harbour above thirty sail of second, third, and fourth rates, that lay by unrigged, but easily fitted out upon occasion, all their masts and rigging lying marked and numbered in storehouses at hand. The King's yards and docks employ abundance of men, who, even in peace time, are constantly building and refitting men-of-war for the King's service.

Gosport lies opposite to Portsmouth, and is near as big, if not bigger; but, except the fort at the mouth of the harbour, and a small outwork before the main street of the town, it is only defended by a mud wall, which surrounds it, and a trench or dry ditch of about ten feet depth and breadth. Portsmouth is a place of very little trade in peace time; it depending chiefly on fitting out men-of-war. Spithead is the place where the fleet commonly anchor, and is a very good riding-place. The people of Portsmouth tell strange stories of the severity of one Gibson, who was governor of this place in the Queen's time, to his soldiers, and show you a miserable dungeon by the town gate, which they call *Johnny Gibson's Hole*, where, for trifling misdemeanors, he used to confine his soldiers till they were almost starved to death. It is a common maxim, that, without severe discipline, it is impossible to govern the licentious rabble of soldiery. I own, indeed, that, if a commander finds he has not those qualities in him that

* One gone to the Baltic, one to the Mediterranean, and one to the West Indies.

will make him beloved by his people, he ought, by all means, to make use of such methods as will make them fear him, since one or the other (or both) is absolutely necessary; but Alexander and Cæsar, those renowned generals, received more faithful service, and performed greater actions, by means of the love their soldiers bore them, than they could possibly have done, if, instead of being beloved and respected, they had been hated and feared by those they commanded.

Thursday, July 28th. — This morning we came on board, having lain on shore all night. We weighed anchor, and, with a moderate gale, stood in for Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, and came to an anchor before the town about eleven o'clock. Six of the passengers went on shore, and diverted themselves till about twelve at night; and then got a boat, and came on board again, expecting to sail early in the morning.

Friday, July 29th. — But, the wind continuing adverse still, we went ashore again this morning, and took a walk to Newport, which is about four miles distant from Cowes, and is the metropolis of the island. Thence we walked to Carisbrooke, about a mile further, out of curiosity to see that castle, which King Charles the First was confined in; and so returned to Cowes in the afternoon, and went on board in expectation of sailing.

Cowes is but a small town, and lies close to the seaside, pretty near opposite to Southampton on the main shore of England. It is divided into two parts by a small river that runs up within a quarter of a mile of Newport, and is distinguished by East and West Cowes. There is a fort built in an oval form, on which there are eight or ten guns mounted for the defence of the road. They have a post-office, a custom-house, and a chapel of ease; and a good harbour for ships to ride in, in easterly and westerly winds.

All this afternoon I spent agreeably enough at the draft-board. It is a game I much delight in; but it requires a clear head, and undisturbed; and the persons playing, if they would play well, ought not much to regard the *consequence* of the game, for that diverts and withdraws the attention of the mind from the game itself, and makes the player liable to make many false open moves; and I will venture to lay it down for an infallible rule, that, if two persons *equal* in judgment play for a considerable sum, he that loves money most shall lose; his anxiety for the success of the game confounds him. Courage is almost as requisite for the good conduct of this game as in a real battle; for, if the player imag-

ines himself opposed by one that is much his superior in skill, his mind is so intent on the defensive part, that an advantage passes unobserved.

Newport makes a pretty prospect enough from the hills that surround it; for it lies down in a bottom. The houses are beautifully intermixed with trees, and a tall, old-fashioned steeple rises in the midst of the town, which is very ornamental to it. The name of the church I could not learn; but there is a very neat market-house, paved with square stone, and consisting of eleven arches. There are several pretty handsome streets, and many well-built houses and shops, well stored with goods. But I think Newport is chiefly remarkable for oysters, which they send to London and other places, where they are very much esteemed, being thought the best in England. The oyster-merchants fetch them, as I am informed, from other places, and lay them upon certain beds in the river (the water of which is it seems excellently adapted for that purpose) a-fattening; and when they have lain a suitable time they are taken up again, and made fit for sale.

When we came to Carisbrooke, which, as I said before, is a little village about a mile beyond Newport, we took a view of an ancient church that had formerly been a priory in Romish times, and is the first church, or the mother-church, of the island. It is an elegant building, after the old Gothic manner, with a very high tower, and looks very venerable in its ruins. There are several ancient monuments about it; but the stone of which they are composed is of such a soft, crumbling nature, that the inscriptions are none of them legible. Of the same stone are almost all the tomb-stones, &c., that I observed in the island.

From this church, having crossed over the brook that gives the name to the village, and got a little boy for a guide, we went up a very steep hill, through several narrow lanes and avenues, till we came to the castle gate. We entered over the ditch (which is now almost filled up, partly by the ruins of the mouldering walls that have tumbled into it, and partly by the washing down of the earth from the hill by the rains,) upon a couple of brick arches, where I suppose formerly there was a drawbridge. An old woman who lives in the castle, seeing us strangers walk about, sent and offered to show us the rooms if we pleased, which we accepted. This castle, as she informed us, has for many years been the seat of the governors of the island; and the rooms and hall, which are very large and handsome, with high, arched roofs, have all along been kept handsomely furnished, every succeeding governor buying the

furniture of his predecessor; but, Cadogan, the last governor, who succeeded General Webb, refusing to purchase it, Webb stripped it clear of all, even the hangings, and left nothing but bare walls. The floors are several of them of plaster of Paris, the art of making which, the woman told us, was now lost.

The castle stands upon a very high and steep hill, and there are the remains of a deep ditch round it; the walls are thick, and seemingly well contrived; and certainly it has been a very strong hold in its time, at least before the invention of great guns. There are several breaches in the ruinous walls, which are never repaired, (I suppose they are purposely neglected,) and the ruins are almost everywhere overspread with ivy. It is divided into the lower and the upper castle, the lower enclosing the upper, which is of a round form, and stands upon a promontory, to which you must ascend by near a hundred stone steps; this upper castle was designed for a retreat in case the lower castle should be won, and is the least ruinous of any part except the stairs before mentioned, which are so broken and decayed, that I was almost afraid to come down again when I was up, they being but narrow, and no rails to hold by.

From the battlements of this upper castle, which they call the *coop*, you have a fine prospect of the greatest part of the island, of the sea on one side, of Cowes road at a distance, and of Newport as it were just below you. There is a well in the middle of the coop, which they called the bottomless well, because of its great depth; but it is now half filled up with stones and rubbish, and is covered with two or three loose planks; yet a stone, as we tried, is near a quarter of a minute in falling before you hear it strike. But the well that supplies the inhabitants at present with water is in the lower castle, and is thirty fathoms deep. They draw their water with a great wheel, and with a bucket that holds near a barrel. It makes a great sound if you speak in it, and echoed the flute which we played over it very sweetly. There are but seven pieces of ordnance mounted upon the walls, and those in no very good order; and the old man, who is the gunner and keeper of the castle, and who sells ale in a little house at the gate, has in his possession but six muskets, which hang up at his wall, and one of them wants a lock. He told us that the castle, which had now been built 1203 years, was first founded by one Whitgert, a Saxon, who conquered the island, and that it was called Whitgertsburg for many ages.

That particular piece of building, which King Charles lodged in during his confinement here, is suffered to go entirely to ruin, there

being nothing standing but the walls. The island is about sixty miles in circumference, and produces plenty of corn and other provisions, and wool as fine as Cotswold: its militia, having the credit of equalling the military, and being the best disciplined in England, —— was once, in King William's time, intrusted with the government of this island. At his death it appeared he was a great villain, and a great politician: there was no crime so damnable which he would stick at in the execution of his designs, and yet he had the art of covering all so thick, that with almost all men in general, while he lived, he passed for a saint. What surprised me was, that the silly old fellow, the keeper of the castle, who remembered him governor, should have so true a notion of his character as I perceived he had. In short, I believe it is impossible for a man, though he has all the cunning of a devil, to live and die a villain, and yet conceal it so well as to carry the name of an honest fellow to the grave with him, but some one, by some accident or other, shall discover him. Truth and sincerity have a certain distinguishing native lustre about them, which cannot be perfectly counterfeited; they are like fire and flame, that cannot be painted.

The whole castle was repaired and beautified by Queen Elizabeth, and strengthened by a breastwork all round without the walls, as appears by this inscription in one or two places upon it.

1595
E. R.
40

Saturday, July 30th. — This morning about eight o'clock we weighed anchor, and turned to windward till we came to Yarmouth, another little town upon this island, and there cast anchor again, the wind blowing hard, and still westerly. Yarmouth is a smaller town than Cowes: yet, the buildings being better, it makes a handsomer prospect at a distance, and the streets are clean and neat. There is one monument in the church, which the inhabitants are very proud of, and which we went to see. It was erected to the memory of Sir Robert Holmes, who had formerly been governor of the island. It is his statue in armour, somewhat bigger than the life, standing on his tomb, with a truncheon in his hand, between two pillars of porphyry. Indeed, all the marble about it is very fine and good; and they say it was designed by the French King for his palace at Versailles, but was cast away upon this island, and by Sir Robert himself in his lifetime applied to this use, and that the whole monument was finished long before he died, though

not fixed up in that place; the inscription likewise, which is very much to his honor, being written by himself. One would think either that he had no defect at all, or had a very ill opinion of the world, seeing he was so careful to make sure of a monument to record his good actions and transmit them to posterity.

Having taken a view of the church, town, and fort, on which there are seven large guns mounted, three of us took a walk up further into the island; and, having gone about two miles, we headed a creek that runs up one end of the town, and then went to Freshwater Church, about a mile nearer the town, but on the other side of the creek. Having stayed here some time it grew dark, and my companions were desirous to be gone, lest those whom we had left drinking where we dined in the town should go on board and leave us. We were told, that it was our best way to go straight down to the mouth of the creek, and that there was a ferry boy that would carry us over to the town. But when we came to the house the lazy whelp was in bed, and refused to rise and put us over; upon which we went down to the water-side, with a design to take his boat, and go over by ourselves. We found it very difficult to get the boat, it being fastened to a stake, and the tide risen near fifty yards beyond it; I stripped all to my shirt to wade up to it; but missing the causeway, which was under water, I got up to my middle in mud. At last I came to the stake; but, to my great disappointment, found she was locked and chained. I endeavoured to draw the staple with one of the thole-pins, but in vain; I tried to pull up the stake, but to no purpose; so that, after an hour's fatigue and trouble in the wet and mud, I was forced to return without the boat.

We had no money in our pockets, and therefore began to conclude to pass the night in some haystack, though the wind blew very cold and very hard. In the midst of these troubles one of us recollected that he had a horse-shoe in his pocket, which he found in his walk, and asked me if I could not wrench the staple out with that. I took it, went, tried, and succeeded, and brought the boat ashore to them. Now we rejoiced and all got in, and, when I had dressed myself, we put off. But the worst of all our troubles was to come yet; for, it being high water and the tide over all the banks, though it was moonlight we could not discern the channel of the creek; but, rowing heedlessly straight forward, when we were got about half way over, we found ourselves aground on a mud bank; and, striving to row her off by putting our oars in the mud, we broke one and there stuck fast, not having four in-

ches water. We were now in the utmost perplexity, not knowing what in the world to do; we could not tell whether the tide was rising or falling; but at length we plainly perceived it was ebb, and we could feel no deeper water within the reach of our oar.

It was hard to lie in an open boat all night exposed to the wind and weather; but it was worse to think how foolish we should look in the morning, when the owner of the boat should catch us in that condition, where we must be exposed to the view of all the town. After we had strove and struggled for half an hour and more, we gave all over, and sat down with our hands before us, despairing to get off; for, if the tide had left us, we had been never the nearer; we must have sat in the boat, as the mud was too deep for us to walk ashore through it, being up to our necks. At last we bethought ourselves of some means of escaping, and two of us stripped and got out, and thereby lightening the boat, we drew her upon our knees near fifty yards into deeper water; and then with much ado, having but one oar, we got safe ashore under the fort; and, having dressed ourselves and tied the man's boat, we went with great joy to the Queen's Head, where we left our companions, whom we found waiting for us, though it was very late. Our boat being gone on board, we were obliged to lie ashore all night; and thus ended our walk.

Sunday, July 31st. — This morning the wind being moderated, our pilot designed to weigh, and, taking advantage of the tide, get a little further to windward. Upon which the boat came ashore, to hasten us on board. We had no sooner returned and hoisted in our boat, but the wind began again to blow very hard at west, insomuch that, instead of going any further, we were obliged to weigh and run down again to Cowes for the sake of more secure riding, where we came to an anchor again in a very little time; and the pudding, which our mess made and put into the pot at Yarmouth, we dined upon at Cowes.

Monday, August 1st. — This morning all the vessels in the harbour put out their colors in honor of the day, and it made a very pretty appearance. The wind continuing to blow hard westerly, our mess resolved to go on shore, though all our loose corks were gone already. We took with us some goods to dispose of, and walked to Newport to make our market, where we sold for three shillings in the pound less than the prime cost in London; and, having dined at Newport, we returned in the evening to Cowes, and concluded to lodge on shore.

Tuesday, August 2d. — This day we passed on shore, diverting

ourselves as well as we could; and, the wind continuing still westerly, we stayed on shore this night also.

Wednesday, August 3d. — This morning we were hurried on board, having scarce time to dine, weighed anchor, and stood away for Yarmouth again, though the wind is still westerly; but, meeting with a hoy when we were near half-way there, that had some goods on board for us to take in, we tacked about for Cowes, and came to anchor there a third time, about four in the afternoon.

Thursday, August 4th. — Stayed on board till about five in the afternoon, and then went on shore and stopped all night.

Friday, August 5th. — Called up this morning and hurried aboard, the wind being northwest. About noon we weighed and left Cowes a third time, and, sailing by Yarmouth, we came into the channel through the Needles; which passage is guarded by Hurst Castle, standing on a spit of land which runs out from the main land of England within a mile of the Isle of Wight. Towards night the wind veered to the westward, which put us under apprehensions of being forced into port again; but presently after it fell a flat calm, and then we had a small breeze that was fair for half an hour, when it was succeeded by a calm again.

Saturday, August 6th. — This morning we had a fair breeze for some hours, and then a calm that lasted all day. In the afternoon I leaped overboard and swam round the ship to wash myself. Saw several porpoises this day. About eight o'clock we came to an anchor in forty fathom water against the tide of flood, somewhere below Portland, and weighed again about eleven, having a small breeze.

Sunday, August 7th. — Gentle breezes all this day. Spoke with a ship, the *Ruby*, bound for London from Nevis, off the Start of Plymouth. This afternoon spoke with Captain Homans in a ship bound for Boston, who came out of the river when we did, and had been beating about in the channel all the time we lay at Cowes in *the Wight*.

Monday, August 8th. — Fine weather, but no wind worth mentioning, all this day; in the afternoon saw the Lizard.

Tuesday, August 9th. — Took our leave of the land this morning. Calms the fore part of the day. In the afternoon a small gale; fair. Saw a grampus.

Wednesday, August 10th. — Wind N. W. Course S. W. about four knots. By observation in latitude 48° 50′. Nothing remarkable happened.

Thursday, August 11th. — Nothing remarkable. Fresh gale all day.

Friday, August 12th; Saturday, 13th; Sunday, 14th. — Calms and fair breezes alternately.

Monday, 15th; Tuesday, 16th; Wednesday, 17th. — No contrary winds, but calm and fair breezes alternately.

Thursday, August 18th. — Four dolphins followed the ship for some hours; we struck at them with the fizgig, but took none.

Friday, August 19th. — This day we have had a pleasant breeze at east. In the morning we spied a sail upon our larboard bow, about two leagues' distance. About noon she put out English colors, and we answered with our ensign, and in the afternoon we spoke with her. She was a ship, of New York, Walter Kippen, master, bound from Rochelle, in France, to Boston, with salt. Our captain and Mr. D—— went on board, and stayed till evening, it being fine weather. Yesterday, complaints being made that a Mr. G——n, one of the passengers, had, with a fraudulent design, marked the cards, a court of justice was called immediately, and he was brought to his trial in form. A Dutchman, who could speak no English, deposed, by his interpreter, that, when our mess was on shore at Cowes, the prisoner at the bar marked all the court cards on the back with a pen.

I have sometimes observed, that we are apt to fancy the person that cannot speak intelligibly to us, proportionably stupid in understanding, and, when we speak two or three words of English to a foreigner, it is louder than ordinary, as if we thought him deaf, and that he had lost the use of his ears as well as his tongue. Something like this I imagine might be the case of Mr. G——n; he fancied the Dutchman could not see what he was about, because he could not understand English, and therefore boldly did it before his face.

The evidence was plain and positive; the prisoner could not deny the fact, but replied in his defence, that the cards he marked were not those we commonly played with, but an imperfect pack, which he afterwards gave to the cabin-boy. The attorney-general observed to the court, that it was not likely he should take the pains to mark the cards without some ill design, or some further intention than just to give them to the boy when he had done, who understood nothing at all of cards. But another evidence, being called. deposed, that he saw the prisoner in the main-top one day, when he thought himself unobserved, marking a pack of cards on the backs, some with the print of a dirty thumb, others with the top of his finger, &c. Now, there being but two packs on board, and the prisoner having just confessed the marking of

one, the court perceived the case was plain. In fine, the jury brought him in guilty, and he was condemned to be carried up to the round-top, and made fast there, in view of all the ship's company, during the space of three hours, that being the place where the act was committed, and to pay a fine of two bottles of brandy. But, the prisoner resisting authority and refusing to submit to punishment, one of the sailors stepped up aloft and let down a rope to us, which we, with much struggling, made fast about his middle, and hoisted him up into the air, sprawling, by main force. We let him hang, cursing and swearing, for near a quarter of an hour; but at length, he crying out Murder! and looking black in the face, the rope being overtaught about his middle, we thought proper to let him down again; and our mess have excommunicated him till he pays his fine, refusing either to play, eat, drink, or converse with him.

Saturday, August 20th. — We shortened sail all last night and all this day, to keep company with the other ship. About noon Captain Kippen and one of his passengers came on board and dined with us; they stayed till evening. When they were gone, we made sail and left them.

Sunday, August 21st. — This morning we lost sight of the Yorker, having a brisk gale of wind at east. Towards night a poor little bird came on board us, being almost tired to death, and suffered itself to be taken by the hand. We reckon ourselves near two hundred leagues from land, so that no doubt a little rest was very acceptable to the unfortunate wanderer, who, 't is like, was blown off the coast in thick weather, and could not find its way back again. We receive it hospitably, and tender it victuals and drink; but he refuses both, and I suppose will not live long. There was one came on board some days ago, in the same circumstances with this, which I think the cat destroyed.

Monday, August 22d. — This morning I saw several flying-fish, but they were small. A favorable wind all day.

Tuesday, August 23d; Wednesday, 24th. — Fair winds, nothing remarkable.

Thursday, August 25th. — Our excommunicated shipmate thinking proper to comply with the sentence the court passed upon him, and expressing himself willing to pay the fine, we have this morning received him into unity again. Man is a sociable being, and it is, for aught I know, one of the worst of punishments to be excluded from society. I have read abundance of fine things on the subject of solitude, and I know 't is a common boast in

the mouths of those that affect to be thought wise, *that they are never less alone than when alone.* I acknowledge solitude an agreeable refreshment to a busy mind; but, were these thinking people obliged to be always alone, I am apt to think they would quickly find their very being insupportable to them. I have heard of a gentleman, who underwent seven years' close confinement, in the Bastille, at Paris. He was a man of sense, he was a thinking man; but, being deprived of all conversation, to what purpose should he think? for he was denied even the instruments of expressing his thoughts in writing. There is no burden so grievous to man as time that he knows not how to dispose of. He was forced at last to have recourse to this invention; he daily scattered pieces of paper about the floor of his little room, and then employed himself in picking them up and sticking them in rows and figures on the arm of his elbow-chair; and he used to tell his friends, after his release, that he verily believed, if he had not taken this method he should have lost his senses. One of the philosophers, I think it was Plato, used to say, that he had rather be the veriest stupid block in nature, than the possessor of all knowledge without some intelligent being to communicate it to.

What I have said may in a measure account for some particulars in my present way of living here on board. Our company is, in general, very unsuitably mixed, to keep up the pleasure and spirit of conversation; and, if there are one or two pair of us that can sometimes entertain one another for half an hour agreeably, yet perhaps we are seldom in the humor for it together. I rise in the morning and read for an hour or two, perhaps, and then reading grows tiresome. Want of exercise occasions want of appetite, so that eating and drinking afford but little pleasure. I tire myself with playing at drafts, then I go to cards; nay, there is no play so trifling or childish, but we fly to it for entertainment. A contrary wind, I know not how, puts us all out of good humor; we grow sullen, silent, and reserved, and fret at each other upon every little occasion. 'T is a common opinion among the ladies, that, if a man is ill-natured, he infallibly discovers it when he is in liquor. But I, who have known many instances to the contrary, will teach them a more effectual method to discover the natural temper and disposition of their humble servants. Let the ladies make one long sea-voyage with them, and, if they have the least spark of ill-nature in them, and conceal it to the end of the voyage, I will forfeit all my pretensions to their favor. The wind continues fair.

Friday, August 26th. — The wind and weather fair, till night came on; and then the wind came about, and we had hard squalls, with rain and lightning, till morning.

Saturday, August 27th. — Cleared up this morning, and the wind settled westerly. Two dolphins followed us this afternoon; we hooked one, and struck the other with the fizgig; but they both escaped us, and we saw them no more.

Sunday, August 28th. — The wind still continues westerly, and blows hard. We are under a reefed mainsail and foresail.

Monday, August 29th. — Wind still hard west. Two dolphins followed us this day; we struck at them, but they both escaped.

Tuesday, August 30th. — Contrary wind still. This evening, the moon being near full, as she rose after eight o'clock, there appeared a rainbow in a western cloud, to windward of us. The first time I ever saw a rainbow in the night, caused by the moon.

Wednesday, August 31st. — Wind still west; nothing remarkable.

Thursday, September 1st. — Bad weather, and contrary winds.

Friday, September 2d. — This morning the wind changed; a little fair. We caught a couple of dolphins, and fried them for dinner. They tasted tolerably well. These fish make a glorious appearance in the water; their bodies are of a bright green, mixed with a silver color, and their tails of a shining golden yellow; but all this vanishes presently after they are taken out of their element, and they change all over to a light gray. I observed that cutting off pieces of a just-caught, living dolphin for baits, those pieces did not lose their lustre and fine colors when the dolphin died, but retained them perfectly. Every one takes notice of that vulgar error of the painters, who always represent this fish monstrously crooked and deformed, when it is, in reality, as beautiful and well-shaped a fish as any that swims. I cannot think what could be the original of this chimera of theirs, since there is not a creature in nature that in the least resembles their dolphin, unless it proceeded at first from a false imitation of a fish in the posture of leaping, which they have since improved into a crooked monster, with a head and eyes like a bull, a hog's snout, and a tail like a blown tulip. But the sailors give me another reason, though a whimsical one, viz. that, as this most beautiful fish is only to be caught at sea, and that very far to the southward, they say the painters wilfully deform it in their representations, lest pregnant women should long for what it is impossible to procure for them.

Saturday, September 3d; Sunday, 4th; Monday, 5th. — Wind still westerly; nothing remarkable.

Tuesday, September 6th. — This afternoon, the wind, still continuing in the same quarter, increased till it blew a storm, and raised the sea to a greater height than I had ever seen it before.

Wednesday, September 7th. — The wind is somewhat abated, but the sea is very high still. A dolphin kept us company all this afternoon; we struck at him several times, but could not take him.

Thursday, September 8th. — This day nothing remarkable has happened. Contrary wind.

Friday, September 9th. — This afternoon we took four large dolphins, three with a hook and line, and the fourth we struck with a fizgig. The bait was a candle with two feathers stuck in it, one on each side, in imitation of a flying-fish, which are the common prey of the dolphins. They appeared extremely eager and hungry, and snapped up the hook as soon as ever it touched the water. When we came to open them, we found in the belly of one a small dolphin, half-digested. Certainly they were half-famished, or are naturally very savage, to devour those of their own species.

Saturday, September 10th. — This day we dined upon the dolphins we caught yesterday, three of them sufficing the whole ship, being twenty-one persons.

Sunday, September 11th. — We have had a hard gale of wind all this day, accompanied with showers of rain. 'T is uncomfortable being upon deck; and, though we have been all together all day below, yet the long continuance of these contrary winds has made us so dull, that scarce three words have passed between us.

Monday, September 12th; Tuesday, 13th. — Nothing remarkable; wind contrary.

Wednesday, September 14th. — This afternoon, about two o'clock, it being fair weather and almost calm, as we sat playing drafts upon deck, we were surprised with a sudden and unusual darkness of the sun, which, as we could perceive, was only covered with a small, thin cloud; when that was passed by, we discovered that that glorious luminary labored under a very great eclipse. At least ten parts out of twelve of him were hid from our eyes, and we were apprehensive he would have been totally darkened.

Thursday, September 15th. — For a week past, we have fed ourselves with the hopes, that the change of the moon (which

was yesterday) would bring us a fair wind; but, to our great mortification and disappointment, the wind seems now settled in the westward, and shows as little signs of an alteration as it did a fortnight ago.

Friday, September 16th. — Calm all this day. This morning we saw a *tropic bird*, which flew round our vessel several times. It is a white fowl, with short wings; but one feather appears in his tail, and he does not fly very fast. We reckon ourselves about half our voyage; latitude 38 and odd minutes. These birds are said never to be seen further north than the latitude of 40.

Saturday, September 17th. — All the forenoon the calm continued; the rest of the day some light breezes easterly; and we are in great hopes the wind will settle in that quarter.

Sunday, September 18th. — We have had the finest weather imaginable all this day, accompanied with what is still more agreeable, a fair wind. Every one puts on a clean shirt and a cheerful countenance, and we begin to be very good company. Heaven grant that this favorable gale may continue! for we have had so much of turning to windward, that the word *helm-a-lee* is become almost as disagreeable to our ears as the sentence of a judge to a convicted malefactor.

Monday, September 19th. — The weather looks a little uncertain, and we begin to fear the loss of our fair wind. We see tropic birds every day, sometimes five or six together; they are about as big as pigeons.

Tuesday, September 20th. — The wind is now westerly again, to our great mortification; and we are come to an allowance of bread, two biscuits and a half a day.

Wednesday, September 21st. — This morning our steward was brought to the geers and whipped, for making an extravagant use of flour in the puddings, and for several other misdemeanors. It has been perfectly calm all this day, and very hot. I was determined to wash myself in the sea to-day, and should have done so, had not the appearance of a shark, that mortal enemy to swimmers, deterred me; he seemed to be about five feet long, moves round the ship at some distance, in a slow, majestic manner, attended by near a dozen of those they call pilot-fish, of different sizes; the largest of them is not so big as a small mackerel, and the smallest not bigger than my little finger. Two of these diminutive pilots keep just before his nose, and he seems to govern himself in his motions by their direction; while the rest surround him on every side indifferently. A shark is never seen without

a retinue of these who are his purveyors, discovering and distinguishing his prey for him: while he in return gratefully protects them from the ravenous hungry dolphin. They are commonly counted a very greedy fish, yet this refuses to meddle with the bait thrown out for him. 'Tis likely he has lately made a full meal.

Thursday, September 22d.—A fresh gale at west all this day. The shark has left us.

Friday, September 23d.—This morning we spied a sail to windward of us about two leagues. We showed our jack upon the ensign-staff, and shortened sail for them till about noon, when she came up with us. She was the *Snow*, from Dublin, bound to New York, having upwards of fifty servants on board, of both sexes; they all appeared upon deck, and seemed very much pleased at the sight of us. There is really something strangely cheering to the spirits in the meeting of a ship at sea, containing a society of creatures of the same species and in the same circumstances with ourselves, after we had been long separated and excommunicated as it were from the rest of mankind. My heart fluttered in my breast with joy, when I saw so many human countenances, and I could scarce refrain from that kind of laughter, which proceeds from some degree of inward pleasure. When we have been for a considerable time tossing on the vast waters, far from the sight of any land or ships, or any mortal creature but ourselves (except a few fish and sea-birds), the whole world, for aught we know, may be under a second deluge, and we, like Noah and his company in the ark, the only surviving remnant of the human race. The two captains have mutually promised to keep each other company; but this I look upon to be only matter of course, for, if ships are unequal in their sailing, they seldom stay for one another, especially strangers. This afternoon, the wind, that had been so long contrary to us, came about to the eastward, (and looks as if it would hold,) to our no small satisfaction. I find our messmates in a better humor, and more pleased with their present condition, than they have been since they came out; which I take to proceed from the contemplation of the miserable circumstances of the passengers on board our neighbour, and making the comparison. We reckon ourselves in a kind of paradise, when we consider how they live, confined and stifled up with such a lousy, stinking rabble, in this sultry latitude.

Saturday, September 24th.—Last night we had a very high wind, and very thick weather; in which we lost our consort.

This morning early we spied a sail ahead of us, which we took to be her; but presently after we spied another, and then we plainly perceived, that neither of them could be the *Snow*; for one of them stemmed with us, and the other bore down directly upon us, having the weather-gage of us. As the latter drew near, we were a little surprised, not knowing what to make of her; for, by the course she steered, she did not seem designed for any port, but looked as if she intended to clap us aboard immediately. I could perceive concern in every face on board; but she presently eased us of our apprehensions by bearing away astern of us. When we hoisted our jack, she answered with French colors, and presently took them down again; and we soon lost sight of her. The other ran by us in less than half an hour, and answered our jack with an English ensign; she stood to the eastward, but the wind was too high to speak with either of them. About nine o'clock we spied our consort, who had got a great way ahead of us. She, it seems, had made sail during the night, while we lay by, with our mainyard down, during the hard gale. She very civilly shortened sail for us, and this afternoon we came up with her; and now we are running along very amicably together, side by side, having a most glorious fair wind.

> "On either side the parted billows flow,
> While the black ocean foams and roars below."

Sunday, September 25th. — Last night we shot ahead of our consort pretty far. About midnight, having lost sight of each other, we shortened sail for them; but this morning they were got as far ahead of us as we could see, having run by us in the dark unperceived. We made sail and came up with them about noon; and, if we chance to be ahead of them again in the night, we are to show them a light, that we may not lose company by any such accident for the future. The wind still continues fair, and we have made a greater run these last four-and-twenty hours than we have done since we came out. All our discourse, now, is of Philadelphia, and we begin to fancy ourselves on shore already. Yet a small change of weather, attended by a westerly wind, is sufficient to blast all our blooming hopes, and quite spoil our present good humor.

Monday, September 26th. — The wind continued fair all night. In the twelve o'clock watch our consort, who was about a league ahead of us, showed us a light, and we answered with another. About six o'clock this morning we had a sudden hurry of wind

at all points of the compass, accompanied with the most violent shower of rain I ever saw, insomuch that the sea looked like a *cream dish*. It surprised us with all our sails up, and was so various, uncertain, and contrary, that the mizzen topsail was full, while the head sails were all aback; and, before the men could run from one end of the ship to the other, 't was about again. But this did not last long ere the wind settled to the northeast again, to our great satisfaction. Our consort fell astern of us in the storm, but made sail and came up with us again after it was over. We hailed one another on the morrow, congratulating upon the continuance of the fair wind, and both ran on very lovingly together.

Tuesday, September 27th. — The fair wind continues still. I have laid a bowl of punch, that we are in Philadelphia next Saturday se'nnight; for we reckon ourselves not above one hundred and fifty leagues from land. The *Snow* keeps us company still.

Wednesday, September 28th. — We had very variable winds and weather last night, accompanied with abundance of rain; and now the wind is come about westerly again, but we must bear it with patience. This afternoon we took up several branches of gulf-weed (with which the sea is spread all over, from the Western Isles to the coast of America); but one of these branches had something peculiar in it. In common with the rest, it had a leaf about three quarters of an inch long, indented like a saw, and a small yellow berry, filled with nothing but wind; besides which it bore a fruit of the animal kind, very surprising to see. It was a small shell-fish like a heart, the stalk by which it proceeded from the branch being partly of a grisly kind. Upon this one branch of the weed, there were near forty of these vegetable animals; the smallest of them, near the end, contained a substance somewhat like an oyster, but the larger were visibly animated, opening their shells every moment, and thrusting out a set of unformed claws, not unlike those of a crab; but the inner part was still a kind of soft jelly. Observing the weed more narrowly, I spied a very small crab crawling among it, about as big as the head of a ten-penny nail, and of a yellowish color, like the weed itself. This gave me some reason to think, that he was a native of the branch; that he had not long since been in the same condition with the rest of those little embryos that appeared in the shells, this being the method of their generation; and that, consequently, all the rest of this odd kind of fruit might be crabs in due time. To strengthen my conjecture, I have resolved to

keep the weed in salt water, renewing it every day till we come on shore, by this experiment to see whether any more crabs will be produced or not in this manner.

I remember that the last calm we had, we took notice of a large crab upon the surface of the sea, swimming from one branch of weed to another, which he seemed to prey upon; and I likewise recollect that at Boston, in New England, I have often seen small crabs with a shell like a snail's upon their backs, crawling about in the salt water; and likewise at Portsmouth in England. It is likely, Nature has provided this hard shell to secure them till their own proper shell has acquired a sufficient hardness, which once perfected, they quit their old habitation and venture abroad safe in their own strength. The various changes that silk-worms, butterflies, and several other insects go through, make such alterations and metamorphoses not improbable. This day the captain of the *Snow* with one of his passengers came on board us; but the wind beginning to blow, they did not stay dinner, but returned to their own vessel.

Thursday, September 29th. — Upon shifting the water in which I had put the weed yesterday, I found another crab, much smaller than the former, who seemed to have newly left his habitation. But the weed begins to wither, and the rest of the embryos are dead. This new-comer fully convinces me, that at least this sort of crabs are generated in this manner. The *Snow's* captain dined on board us this day. Little or no wind.

Friday, September 30th. — I sat up last night to observe an eclipse of the moon, which the calendar, calculated for London, informed us would happen at five o'clock in the morning, September 30th. It began with us about eleven last night, and continued till near two this morning, darkening her body about six digits, or one half; the middle of it being about half an hour after twelve, by which we may discover that we are in a meridian of about four hours and half from London, or 67½ degrees of longitude, and consequently have not much above one hundred leagues to run. This is the second eclipse we have had within these fifteen days. We lost our consort in the night, but saw him again this morning near two leagues to the windward. This afternoon we spoke with him again. We have had abundance of dolphins about us these three or four days; but we have not taken any more than one, they being shy of the bait. I took in some more gulf-weed to-day with the boat-hook, with shells upon it like that before mentioned, and three living perfect crabs, each less than

the nail of my little finger. One of them had something particularly observable, to wit, a thin piece of the white shell which I before noted as their covering while they remained in the condition of embryos, sticking close to his natural shell upon his back. This sufficiently confirms me in my opinion of the manner of their generation. I have put this remarkable crab with a piece of the gulf-weed, shells, &c., into a glass phial filled with salt water, (for want of spirits of wine,) in hopes to preserve the curiosity till I come on shore. The wind is southwest.

Saturday, October 1st.—Last night our consort, who goes incomparably better upon a wind than our vessel, got so far to windward and ahead of us, that this morning we could see nothing of him, and it is like shall see him no more. These southwests are hot, damp winds, and bring abundance of rain and dirty weather with them.

Sunday, October 2d.—Last night we prepared our line with a design to sound this morning at four o'clock: but the wind coming about again to the northwest, we let it alone. I cannot help fancying the water is changed a little, as is usual when a ship comes within soundings, but it is probable I am mistaken; for there is but one besides myself of my opinion, and we are very apt to believe what we wish to be true.

Monday, October 3d.—The water is now very visibly changed to the eyes of all except the captain and the mate, and they will by no means allow it; I suppose because they did not see it first. Abundance of dolphins are about us, but they are very shy, and keep at a distance. Wind northwest.

Tuesday, October 4th.—Last night we struck a dolphin, and this morning we found a flying-fish dead under the windlass. He is about the bigness of a small mackerel, a sharp head, a small mouth, and a tail forked somewhat like a dolphin, but the lowest branch much larger and longer than the other, and tinged with yellow. His back and sides of a darkish blue, his belly white, and his skin very thick. His wings are of a finny substance, about a span long, reaching, when close to his body, from an inch below his gills to an inch above his tail. When they fly it is straight forward, (for they cannot readily turn,) a yard or two above the water; and perhaps fifty yards is the furthest before they dip into the water again, for they cannot support themselves in the air any longer than while their wings continue wet. These flying-fish are the common prey of the dolphin, who is their mortal enemy. When he pursues them, they rise and fly; and he keeps close under

them till they drop, and then snaps them up immediately. They generally fly in flocks, four or five, or perhaps a dozen together, and a dolphin is seldom caught without one or more in his belly. We put this flying-fish upon the hook, in hopes of catching one, but in a few minutes they got it off without hooking themselves; and they will not meddle with any other bait.

Tuesday Night. — Since eleven o'clock we have struck three fine dolphins, which are a great refreshment to us. This afternoon we have seen abundance of grampuses, which are seldom far from land; but towards evening we had a more evident token, to wit, a little tired bird, something like a lark, came on board us, who certainly is an American, and 't is likely was ashore this day. It is now calm. We hope for a fair wind next.

Wednesday, October 5th. — This morning we saw a heron, who had lodged aboard last night. It is a long-legged, long-necked bird, having, as they say, but one gut. They live upon fish, and will swallow a living eel thrice, sometimes, before it will remain in their body. The wind is west again. The ship's crew was brought to a short allowance of water.

Thursday, October 6th. — This morning abundance of grass, rock-weed, &c., passed by us; evident tokens that land is not far off. We hooked a dolphin this morning, that made us a good breakfast. A sail passed by us about twelve o'clock, and nobody saw her till she was too far astern to be spoken with. 'T is very near calm; we saw another sail ahead this afternoon; but, night coming on, we could not speak with her, though we very much desired it; she stood to the northward, and it is possible might have informed us how far we are from land. Our artists on board are much at a loss. We hoisted our jack to her, but she took no notice of it.

Friday, October 7th. — Last night, about nine o'clock, sprung up a fine gale at northeast, which run us in our course at the rate of seven miles an hour all night. We were in hopes of seeing land this morning, but cannot. The water, which we thought was changed, is now as blue as the sky; so that, unless at that time we were running over some unknown shoal, our eyes strangely deceived us. All the reckonings have been out these several days; though the captain says 't is his opinion we are yet a hundred leagues from land; for my part I know not what to think of it; we have run all this day at a great rate, and now night is come on we have no soundings. Sure the American continent is not all sunk under water since we left it.

Saturday, October 8th. — The fair wind continues still; we ran all night in our course, sounding every four hours, but can find no ground yet, nor is the water changed by all this day's run. This afternoon we saw an *Irish lord*, and a bird which, flying, looked like a yellow duck. These, they say, are not seen far from the coast. Other signs of land have we none. Abundance of large porpoises ran by us this afternoon, and we were followed by a shoal of small ones, leaping out of the water as they approached. Towards evening we spied a sail ahead, and spoke with her just before dark. She was bound from New York for Jamaica, and left Sandy Hook yesterday about noon, from which they reckon themselves forty-five leagues distant. By this we compute that we are not above thirty leagues from our Capes, and hope to see land to-morrow.

Sunday, October 9th. — We have had the wind fair all the morning; at twelve o'clock we sounded, perceiving the water visibly changed, and struck ground at twenty-five fathoms, to our universal joy. After dinner one of our mess went up aloft to look out, and presently pronounced the long wished-for sound, LAND! LAND! In less than an hour we could descry it from the deck, appearing like tufts of trees. I could not discern it so soon as the rest; my eyes were dimmed with the suffusion of two small drops of joy. By three o'clock we were run in within two leagues of the land, and spied a small sail standing along shore. We would gladly have spoken with her, for our captain was unacquainted with the coast, and knew not what land it was that we saw. We made all the sail we could to speak with her. We made a signal of distress; but all would not do, the ill-natured dog would not come near us. Then we stood off again till morning, not caring to venture too near.

Monday, October 10th. — This morning we stood in again for land; and we, that had been here before, all agreed that it was Cape Henlopen; about noon we were come very near, and to our great joy saw the pilot-boat come off to us, which was exceeding welcome. He brought on board about a peck of apples with him; they seemed the most delicious I ever tasted in my life; the salt provisions we had been used to gave them a relish. We had extraordinary fair wind all the afternoon, and ran above a hundred miles up the Delaware before ten at night. The country appears very pleasant to the eye, being covered with woods, except here and there a house and plantation. We cast anchor when the tide turned, about two miles below Newcastle, and there lay till the morning tide.

Tuesday, October 11th. This morning we weighed anchor with a gentle breeze, and passed by Newcastle, whence they hailed us and bade us welcome. It is extreme fine weather. The sun enlivens our stiff limbs with his glorious rays of warmth and brightness. The sky looks gay, with here and there a silver cloud. The fresh breezes from the woods refresh us; the immediate prospect of liberty, after so long and irksome confinement, ravishes us. In short, all things conspire to make this the most joyful day I ever knew. As we passed by Chester, some of the company went on shore, impatient once more to tread on *terra firma*, and designing for Philadelphia by land. Four of us remained on board, not caring for the fatigue of travel when we knew the voyage had much weakened us. About eight at night, the wind failing us, we cast anchor at Redbank, six miles from Philadelphia, and thought we must be obliged to lie on board that night; but, some young Philadelphians happening to be out upon their pleasure in a boat, they came on board, and offered to take us up with them; we accepted of their kind proposal, and about ten o'clock landed at Philadelphia, heartily congratulating each other upon our having happily completed so tedious and dangerous a voyage. Thank God!

No. III. pp. 143, 158.

PROPOSALS RELATING TO THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH IN PENNSYLVANIA.*

THE good education of youth has been esteemed by wise men in all ages, as the surest foundation of the happiness both of private families and of commonwealths. Almost all governments have

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* This tract was first printed at Philadelphia, in the year 1749. It was illustrated by a large body of notes, being chiefly extracts from the best writers on education, such as Milton, Locke, Rollin, Turnbull, and others. The principal part of these notes was many years afterwards appended by the author to his *Observations relative to the Intentions of the original Founders of the Academy in Philadelphia*, (See Vol. II. p. 133.) The following "*Advertisement to the Reader*" is prefixed to the original edition of the PROPOSALS.

"It has long been regretted as a misfortune to the youth of this province, that we have no Academy, in which they might receive the accomplishments of a regular education. The following paper of *hints* towards forming a plan

therefore made it a principal object of their attention, to establish and endow with proper revenues such seminaries of learning, as might supply the succeeding age with men qualified to serve the public well in every station.

Many of the first settlers of these provinces were men who had received a good education in Europe: and to their wisdom and good management we owe much of our present prosperity. But their hands were full, and they could not do all things. The present race are not thought to be generally of equal ability: for, though the American youth are allowed not to want capacity, yet the best capacities require cultivation: it being truly with them, as with the best ground, which, unless well tilled and sowed with profitable seed, produces only rank weeds.

That we may obtain the advantages arising from an increase of knowledge, and prevent, as much as may be, the mischievous consequences that would attend a general ignorance among us, the

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for that purpose, is so far approved by some public-spirited gentlemen, to whom it has been privately communicated, that they have directed a number of copies to be made by the press, and properly distributed, in order to obtain the sentiments and advice of men of learning, understanding, and experience in these matters; and have determined to use their interest and best endeavours to have the scheme, when completed, carried gradually into execution; in which they have reason to believe they shall have the hearty concurrence and assistance of many, who are well-wishers to their country. Those, who incline to favor the design with their advice, either as to the parts of learning to be taught, the order of study, the method of teaching, the economy of the school, or any other matter of importance to the success of the undertaking, are desired to communicate their sentiments as soon as may be, by letter, directed to *B. Franklin*, Printer, in *Philadelphia*."

Mr. Secretary Peters, speaking of the Academy in a letter to the Proprietaries, says; "Our Academy cuts a figure in print: the framers of the scheme have bought the new building and lot: they have raised an annual subscription for five years, which will amount to upwards of £ 500 a year, and they are now altering the south half of the great building into four rooms for four masters; but what is to be done next, I cannot tell. Mr. Martin, it is said, was engaged some time ago to be the head master: but he has been in town, and, though we are *good* friends, and, at the importunity of Mr. Allen, I became a trustee, yet he has never opened his mouth to me about it. I asked Mr. Franklin, who is the soul of the whole, whether they would not find it difficult to collect masters. He said, with an air of firmness, that money would buy learning of all sorts, he was under no apprehensions about masters; but, for all his sanguine expectations, it is my opinion that they have undertaken what is too high for them, and will not be able to carry it on: not but that I heartily wish they may, and shall do all in my power to aid and spirit them up, but I find the matter is not understood."—*MS. Letter, February 17th*, 1749. —Editor.

following *hints* are offered towards forming a plan for the education of the youth of Pennsylvania, viz.

It is proposed,

That some persons of leisure and public spirit apply for a charter, by which they may be incorporated, with power to erect an Academy for the education of youth, to govern the same, provide masters, make rules, receive donations, purchase lands, and to add to their number, from time to time, such other persons as they shall judge suitable.

That the members of the corporation make it their pleasure, and in some degree their business, to visit the Academy often, encourage and countenance the youth, countenance and assist the masters, and by all means in their power advance the usefulness and reputation of the design; that they look on the Students as in some sort their children, treat them with familiarity and affection, and, when they have behaved well, and gone through their studies, and are to enter the world, zealously unite, and make all the interest that can be made to establish them, whether in business, offices, marriages, or any other thing for their advantage, preferably to all other persons whatsoever, even of equal merit.

And if men may, and frequently do, catch such a taste for cultivating flowers, for planting, grafting, inoculating, and the like, as to despise all other amusements for their sake, why may not we expect they should acquire a relish for that *more useful* culture of young minds. Thomson says,

> "'T is joy to see the human blossoms blow,
> When infant reason grows apace, and calls
> For the kind hand of an assiduous care.
> Delightful task! to rear the tender thought,
> To teach the young idea how to shoot;
> To pour the fresh instruction o'er the mind,
> To breathe the enlivening spirit, and to fix
> The generous purpose in the glowing breast."

That a house be provided for the Academy, if not in the town, not many miles from it; the situation high and dry, and, if it may be, not far from a river, having a garden, orchard, meadow, and a field or two.

That the house be furnished with a library if in the country, (if in the town, the town libraries may serve), with maps of all countries, globes, some mathematical instruments, an apparatus for experiments in natural philosophy, and for mechanics; prints, of all kinds, prospects, buildings, and machines.

That the Rector be a man of good understanding, good morals, diligent and patient, learned in the languages and sciences, and a correct pure speaker and writer of the English tongue: to have such tutors under him as shall be necessary.

That the boarding scholars dine together, plainly, temperately, and frugally.

That, to keep them in health, and to strengthen and render active their bodies, they be frequently exercised in running, leaping, wrestling, and swimming.

That they have peculiar habits to distinguish them from other youth, if the Academy be in or near the town: for this, among other reasons, that their behaviour may be the better observed.

As to their studies, it would be well if they could be taught *every thing* that is useful, and *every thing* that is ornamental. But art is long, and their time is short. It is therefore proposed, that they learn those things that are likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental*; regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended.

All should be taught to write a fair hand, and swift, as that is useful to all. And with it may be learned something of drawing, by imitation of prints, and some of the first principles of perspective.

Arithmetic, accounts, and some of the first principles of geometry and astronomy.

The English language might be taught by grammar: in which some of our best writers, as Tillotson, Addison, Pope, Algernon Sidney, *Cato's Letters*, &c., should be classics; the styles principally to be cultivated being the clear and the concise. Reading should also be taught, and pronouncing properly, distinctly, emphatically: not with an even tone, which *under-does*, nor a theatrical, which *over-does* nature.

To form their style, they should be put on writing letters to each other, making abstracts of what they read, or writing the same things in their own words; telling or writing stories lately read, in their own expressions. All to be revised and corrected by the tutor, who should give his reasons, and explain the force and import of words.

To form their pronunciation, they may be put on making declamations, repeating speeches, and delivering orations: the tutor assisting at the rehearsals, teaching, advising, and correcting their accent.

But if History be made a constant part of their reading, such

as the translations of the Greek and Roman historians, and the modern histories of ancient Greece and Rome, may not almost all kinds of useful knowledge be that way introduced to advantage, and with pleasure to the student? As

Geography, by reading with maps, and being required to point out the places *where* the greatest actions were done, to give their old and new names, with the bounds, situation, and extent of the countries concerned.

Chronology, by the help of Helvicus or some other writer of the kind, who will enable them to tell *when* those events happened, what princes were contemporaries, and what states or famous men flourished about that time. The several principal epochas to be first well fixed in their memories.

Ancient Customs, religious and civil, being frequently mentioned in history, will give occasion for explaining them; in which the prints of medals, basso-rilievos, and ancient monuments will greatly assist.

Morality, by descanting and making continual observations on the causes of the rise or fall of any man's character, fortune, and power, mentioned in history; the advantages of temperance, order, frugality, industry, and perseverance. Indeed, the general natural tendency of reading good history must be, to fix in the minds of youth deep impressions of the beauty and usefulness of virtue of all kinds, public spirit, and fortitude.

History will show the wonderful effects of *oratory*, in governing, turning, and leading great bodies of mankind, armies, cities, nations. When the minds of youth are struck with admiration at this, then is the time to give them the principles of that art, which they will study with taste and application. Then they may be made acquainted with the best models among the ancients, their beauties being particularly pointed out to them. Modern political oratory being chiefly performed by the pen and press, its advantages over the ancient in some respects are to be shown; as that its effects are more extensive, and more lasting.

History will also afford frequent opportunities of showing the necessity of a *public religion*, from its usefulness to the public; the advantage of a religious character among private persons; the mischiefs of superstition, and the excellency of the *Christian religion* above all others, ancient or modern.

History will also give occasion to expatiate on the advantage of civil orders and constitutions; how men and their properties are protected by joining in societies and establishing government; their

industry encouraged and rewarded, arts invented, and life made more comfortable; the advantages of liberty, mischiefs of licentiousness, benefits arising from good laws and a due execution of justice. Thus may the first principles of sound politics be fixed in the minds of youth.

On historical occasions, questions of right and wrong, justice and injustice, will naturally arise, and may be put to youth, which they may debate in conversation and in writing. When they ardently desire victory, for the sake of the praise attending it, they will begin to feel the want, and be sensible of the use, of *logic*, or the art of reasoning to *discover* truth, and of arguing to *defend* it, and *convince* adversaries. This would be the time to acquaint them with the principles of that art. Grotius, Puffendorff, and some other writers of the same kind, may be used on these occasions to decide their disputes. Public disputes warm the imagination, whet the industry, and strengthen the natural abilities.

When youth are told, that the great men, whose lives and actions they read in history, spoke two of the best languages that ever were, the most expressive, copious, beautiful; and that the finest writings, the most correct compositions, the most perfect productions of human wit and wisdom, are in those languages, which have endured for ages, and will endure while there are men; that no translation can do them justice, or give the pleasure found in reading the originals; that those languages contain all science; that one of them is become almost universal, being the language of learned men in all countries; and that to understand them is a distinguishing ornament; they may be thereby made desirous of learning those languages, and their industry sharpened in the acquisition of them. All intended for divinity, should be taught the Latin and Greek; for physic, the Latin, Greek, and French; for law, the Latin and French; merchants, the French, German, and Spanish; and, though all should not be compelled to learn Latin, Greek, or the modern foreign languages, yet none that have an ardent desire to learn them should be refused; their English, arithmetic, and other studies absolutely necessary, being at the same time not neglected.

If the new *Universal History* were also read, it would give a connected idea of human affairs, so far as it goes, which should be followed by the best modern histories, particularly of our mother country; then of these colonies; which should be accompanied with observations on their rise, increase, use to Great Britain, encouragements and discouragements, the means to make them flourish, and secure their liberties.

With the history of men, times, and nations, should be read at proper hours or days, some of the best *histories of nature*, which would not only be delightful to youth, and furnish them with matter for their letters, as well as other history, but would afterwards be of great use to them, whether they are merchants, handicrafts, or divines; enabling the first the better to understand many commodities and drugs, the second to improve his trade or handicraft by new mixtures and materials, and the last to adorn his discourses by beautiful comparisons, and strengthen them by new proofs of divine providence. The conversation of all will be improved by it, as occasions frequently occur of making natural observations, which are instructive, agreeable, and entertaining in almost all companies. Natural history will also afford opportunities of introducing many observations, relating to the preservation of health, which may be afterwards of great use. Arbuthnot on Air and Aliment, Sanctorius on Perspiration, Lemery on Foods, and some others, may now be read, and a very little explanation will make them sufficiently intelligible to youth.

While they are reading natural history, might not a little gardening, planting, grafting, and inoculating, be taught and practised; and now and then excursions made to the neighbouring plantations of the best farmers, their methods observed and reasoned upon for the information of youth? The improvement of agriculture being useful to all, and skill in it no disparagement to any.

The *history of commerce*, of the invention of arts, rise of manufactures, progress of trade, change of its seats, with the reasons and causes, may also be made entertaining to youth, and will be useful to all. And this, with the accounts in other history of the prodigious force and effect of engines and machines used in war, will naturally introduce a desire to be instructed in mechanics, and to be informed of the principles of that art by which weak men perform such wonders, labor is saved, and manufactures expedited. This will be the time to show them prints of ancient and modern machines; to explain them, to let them be copied, and to give lectures in mechanical philosophy.

With the whole should be constantly inculcated and cultivated that *benignity of mind*, which shows itself in searching for and seizing every opportunity to serve and to oblige; and is the foundation of what is called *good breeding*; highly useful to the possessor, and most agreeable to all.

The idea of what is *true merit* should also be often presented to youth, explained and impressed on their minds, as consisting in

an *inclination*, joined with an *ability*, to serve mankind, one's country, friends, and family; which ability is, with the blessing of God, to be acquired or greatly increased by *true learning*; and should, indeed, be the great *aim* and *end* of all learning.

No. IV. p. 144.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.

THE suggestion of an American Philosophical Society was undoubtedly first made by Franklin. In a paper, dated May 14th, 1743, and entitled *A Proposal for Promoting Useful Knowledge among the British Plantations in America*, he explains largely the objects and advantages of such an association. After mentioning the obstacles that existed in the colonies to a free communication of thoughts among men devoted to philosophical inquiries and reflection, in consequence of the extent of the country and the distances they lived apart, by which they were prevented from seeing and conversing with each other, he says; "To remedy this inconvenience for the future, it is proposed, that a society be formed of *virtuosi* or ingenious men, residing in the several colonies, to be called *The American Philosophical Society*, who are to maintain a constant correspondence; and that Philadelphia, being the city nearest the centre of the continent colonies, communicating with all of them northward and southward by post, and with all the islands by sea, and having the advantage of a good growing library, be the centre of the society." He then enumerates in detail, and very fully, the various subjects which might properly engage the labors and zeal of the society.

With the view of extending its benefits, he proposed, "that, at the end of every year, collections should be made and printed, of such experiments, discoveries, and improvements, as might be thought of public advantage, and that every member should have a copy sent to him." He adds a few brief hints concerning the mode of organizing the society, and concludes by saying; "Benjamin Franklin, the writer of this proposal, offers himself to serve the society as their secretary, till they shall be provided with one more capable." Several copies of this paper were printed, and he sent them to his friends, and to such gentlemen in different parts

of the country, as he supposed would be inclined to favor the undertaking.

The plan was in some sort successful. A society was formed a few months afterwards, as appears by a letter from Franklin to Cadwallader Colden, dated April 5th, 1744. Thomas Hopkinson was president, and Benjamin Franklin secretary. The other original members, as mentioned in that letter, were Thomas Bond, John Bartram, Thomas Godfrey, Samuel Rhoads, William Parsons, Phineas Bond, William Coleman, all of Philadelphia. A few members were likewise chosen from some of the neighbouring colonies. This society had no connexion with the JUNTO, which is often mentioned in Franklin's autobiography, and which had been established by him many years before.*

Mr. Colden suggested to Franklin, that he should print by subscription a selection from the papers, that might be furnished by the members. It is probable, that this project was not encouraged; for, nearly a year afterwards, November 28th, 1745, Franklin writes to him as follows. "I am now determined to publish an *American Philosophical Miscellany*, monthly or quarterly. I shall begin with next January, and proceed as I find encouragement and assistance. As I purpose to take the compiling wholly upon myself, the reputation of no gentleman or society will be affected by what I insert of another's; and that, perhaps, will make them more free to communicate. Their names shall be published or concealed, as they think proper, and care taken to do exact justice to matters of invention, &c. I shall be glad of your advice in any particulars, that occurred to you in thinking of this scheme." His design was not executed; perhaps for the want of encouragement. Nor indeed is there any evidence, that the society was ever in a flourishing state. Nothing is known of its transactions. The records of its proceedings are lost, and, if any papers were contributed by the members, they were not published. Soon after the society was formed, Franklin himself became deeply engaged in his electrical experiments, which for some time absorbed his whole attention. The society seems to have languished, till, in a few years, the regular meetings were discontinued.

In the mean time, another society sprang up in Philadelphia, which was called *The Junto, or Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge*. The date of the origin of this association is

* See the paper above mentioned, and the letter to Colden, Vol. VI. pp. 14, 28.

not known. That portion of the records, which has been preserved, begins September 22d, 1756; but it had an earlier origin. If we may judge from the records, it seems to have been a society rather for the mutual improvement of the members, by discussing a great variety of subjects, than for enlarged philosophical inquiries, designed for public as well as private benefit. In 1762 this society apparently began to decline. No records have been found from October, of that year, to April 25th, 1766, when the society met, and took the name of *The American Society for Promoting and Propagating Useful Knowledge*. Thirty members then signed the constitution and rules. It was evidently intended now to embrace a larger compass of objects than formerly, and to have more of a public character. Franklin was elected into this society on the 19th of February, 1768, and chosen president of it on the 4th of November following. He was then absent in England.

In November, 1767, the old Philosophical Society of 1744 was revived by a few of the original members, then residing in Philadelphia. They elected many new members. A union was proposed by the other society, which was accepted on the 2d of February, 1768, by choosing all the members of that association into this society. But they refused to unite on these terms, or on any other, which did not imply a perfect equality between the two associations. There seems to have been a jealousy between them, or rather between some of the prominent members of each. On the 23d of September, 1768, the *American Society* was again organized, new rules were adopted, and its title was changed to *The American Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*; and, on the 4th of November, the *Medical Society* of Philadelphia was incorporated with it.

After much negotiation it was finally agreed, that the two societies should unite on equal terms, each electing all the members of the other. This union was effected on the 2d of January, 1769. A new name was formed by uniting those of the two societies, which thus became *The American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge*.

Five months after the union, Dr. Thomas Bond said in a letter to Dr. Franklin, "I long meditated a revival of our American Philosophical Society, and at length I thought I saw my way clear in doing it, but the old party leaven split us for a time. We are now united, and, with your presence, may make a figure: but, till that happy event, I fear much will not be done. The Assembly have countenanced and encouraged us very generously and kindly;

and we are much obliged for your care in procuring the telescope, which was used in the late observations of the transit of Venus; but the micrometer did not move so well as it ought, from whence I fear there may be some defect in the calculations. The observations were made with four glasses here, three at Norriton, and one at the Cape; all of which I hope to have the pleasure of transmitting to you in a fortnight."—*MS. Letter, Philadelphia, June 7th*, 1769.

At the time of the union, Dr. Franklin was chosen president of the Society, to which office he was annually elected till his death.

No. V. p. 505.

EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE JOURNAL.*

Passy, June 26th, 1784.—Mr. Walterstrof called on me, and acquainted me with a duel that had been fought yesterday morning, between a French officer† and a Swedish gentleman of that king's suite, in which the latter was killed on the spot, and the other dangerously wounded;—that the king does not resent it, as he thinks his subject was in the wrong.

He asked me if I had seen the king of Sweden? I had not yet had that honor. He said his behaviour here was not liked; that he took little notice of his own ambassador, who, being acquainted with the usages of this court, was capable of advising him, but was not consulted. That he was always talking of himself, and vainly boasting of *his* revolution, though it was known to have been the work of M. de Vergennes. That they began to be tired of him here, and wished him gone; but he proposed staying till the 12th of July. That he had now laid aside his project of invading Norway, as he found Denmark had made preparations to receive him. That he pretended the Danes had designed to

* These extracts, and those in the article next following, were first published by William Temple Franklin. He observes, that the above Journal "does not appear to have been continued further at this period." Though Franklin was sometimes in the habit of keeping a private diary, as may be inferred also from some of his letters, the whole of it, except the small portions in this Appendix, is doubtless lost.—Editor.

† The Count de la Marck.

invade Sweden, though it was a known fact, that the Danes had made no military preparations, even for defence, till six months after his began. I asked if it was clear, that he had had an intention to invade Norway. He said that the marching and disposition of his troops, and the fortifications he had erected, indicated it very plainly. He added, that Sweden was at present greatly distressed for provisions; that many people had actually died of hunger! That it was reported, that the king came here to borrow money, and to offer to sell Gottenburg to France; a thing not very probable.

M. Dussaulx called, and said, it is reported there is an alliance treating between the Emperor of Austria, Russia, and England; the purpose not known; and that a counter-alliance is proposed between France, Prussia, and Holland, in which it is supposed Spain will join. He added, that changes in the ministry are talked of; that there are cabals against M. de Vergennes; that M. de Calonne is to be *Garde des Sceaux*, with some other rumors, fabricated perhaps at the Palais Royal.

June 29th. — Mr. Hammond, secretary to Mr. Hartley, called to tell me, that Mr. Hartley had not received any orders by the last courier, either to stay or return, which he had expected; and that he thought it occasioned by their uncertainty what terms of commerce to propose, till the report of the committee of Council was laid before Parliament, and its opinion known; and that he looked on the delay of writing to him as a sign of their intending to do something.

He told me it was reported, that the king of Sweden had granted the free use of Gottenburg as a port for France, which alarmed the neighbouring powers. That, in time of war, the northern coast of England might be much endangered by it.

June 30th. — M. Dupont, inspector of commerce, came to talk with me about the free port of L'Orient, and some difficulties respecting it; I referred him to Mr. Barclay, an American merchant and commissioner for accounts; and, as he said he did not well understand English when spoken, and Mr. Barclay did not speak French, I offered my grandson to accompany him as interpreter, which he accepted.

I asked him whether the Spaniards from the continent of America did not trade to the French sugar islands? He said not. The only commerce with the Spaniards was for cattle between them and the French at St. Domingo. I had been told the Spaniards brought flour to the French islands from the continent. He had

not heard of it. If we can find that such a trade is allowed (perhaps from the Mississippi), have not the United States a claim by treaty to the same privilege?

July 1st.—The Pope's Nuncio called, and acquainted me that the Pope had, on my recommendation, appointed Mr. John Carroll, superior of the Catholic clergy in America, with many of the powers of a bishop; and that probably he would be made a bishop *in partibus* before the end of the year. He asked me which would be most convenient for him, to come to France, or go to St. Domingo, for ordination by another bishop, which was necessary. I mentioned Quebec as more convenient than either. He asked whether, as that was an English province, our government might not take offence at his going thither? I thought not, unless the ordination by that bishop should give him some authority over our bishop. He said, not in the least; that when our bishop was once ordained, he would be independent of the others, and even of the Pope; which I did not clearly understand. He said the Congregation *de Propagandâ Fide* had agreed to receive, and maintain and instruct, two young Americans in the languages and sciences at Rome; (he had formerly told me that more would be educated *gratis* in France.) He added, they had written from America that there are twenty priests, but that they are not sufficient; as the new settlements near the Mississippi have need of some.

The Nuncio said we should find, that the Catholics were not so intolerant as they had been represented; that the Inquisition in Rome had not now so much power as that in Spain; and that in Spain it was used chiefly as a prison of state. That the Congregation would have undertaken the education of more American youths, and may hereafter, but that at present they are overburdened, having some from all parts of the world. He spoke lightly of their New Bostonian convert Thayer's conversion; that he had advised him not to go to America, but settle in France. That he wanted to go to convert his countrymen; but he knew nothing yet of his new religion himself, &c.

Received a letter from Mr. Bridgen of London, dated the 22d past, acquainting me, that the Council of the Royal Society had voted me a gold medal, on account of my letter in favor of Captain Cook. Lord Howe had sent me his Journal, 3 vols. 4to, with a large volume of engravings, on the same account, and, as he writes, "*with the King's approbation.*"

July 3d.—Mr. Smeathman comes and brings two English or Scotch gentlemen; one a chevalier of some order, the other a phy-

sician who had lived long in Russia. Much conversation. Putrid fevers common in Russia, and in winter much more than in summer; therefore supposed to be owing to their hot rooms. In a gentleman's house there are sometimes one hundred domestics; these have not beds, but sleep twenty or thirty in a close room warmed by a stove, lying on the floor and on benches. The stoves are heated by wood. As soon as it is burnt to coals, the chimney is stopped to prevent the escape of hot and entry of cold air. So they breathe the same air over and over again all night. These fevers he cured by wrapping the patient in linen wet with vinegar, and making them breathe the vapor of vinegar thrown on hot bricks. The Russians have the art of distilling spirit from milk. To prepare it for distillation it must, when beginning to sour, be kept in continual motion or agitation for twelve hours; it then becomes a uniform vinous liquor, the cream, curd, and aqueous part or whey, all intimately mixed. Excellent in this state for restoring emaciated bodies. This operation on milk was discovered long since by the Tartars, who in their rambling life often carry milk in leather bags on their horses, and the motion produced the effect. It may be tried with us by attaching a large keg of milk to some part of one of our mills.

July 6th. — Directed Temple Franklin, who goes to court to-day, to mention three things to the minister. The *main levée* of the arrested goods, the port of L'Orient, and the consular convention; which he did with effect. The port is fixed, and the convention preparing. Hear that Gottenburg is to be a free port for France, where they may assemble northern stores, &c.

Mr. Hammond came and dined with me. He acquaints me, from Mr. Hartley, that no instructions are yet come from England.

July 7th. — A very hot day. Received a visit from the secretary of the king of Sweden, M. Franke, accompanied by the secretary of the embassy.

July 8th. — M. Franke dines with me, in company with M. de Helvétius, Abbé de la Roche, M. Cabanis, and an American captain. The king of Sweden does not go to England.

July 10th. — Mr. Grand came to propose my dining with the Swedish court at his house, which is next door, and I consented. While he was with me, the consul came. We talked about the Barbary powers; they are four, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli. He informed me that Salee, the principal port belonging to the Emperor of Morocco, had formerly been famous for corsairs. That this prince had discouraged them, and in 1768 published an

edict declaring himself in peace with all the world, and forbade their cruising any more, appointing him consul for those Christian states who had none in his country. That Denmark pays him 25,000 *piastres fortes* yearly, in money; Sweden is engaged to send an ambassador every two years with presents; and the other powers buy their peace in the same manner, except Spain and the Italian states, with whom they have constant war. That he is consul for Sardinia and Prussia, for whom he procured treaties of peace. That he proposed a peace for Russia; but that, the Emperor having heard that Russia was going to war with his brother, the Grand Seignior, he refused it.

M. Audibert Caille, the consul, thinks it shameful for Christendom to pay tribute to such *canaille*, and proposes two ways of reducing the barbarians to peace with all Europe, and obliging them to quit their piratical practices. They have need of many articles from Europe, and of a vent for their superfluous commodities. If therefore all Europe would agree to refuse any commerce with them but on condition of their quitting piracy, and such an agreement could be faithfully observed on our part, it would have its effect upon them. But, if any one power would continue the trade with them, it would defeat the whole. There was another method he had projected, and communicated in a memorial to the court here, by M. de Rayneval; which was, that France should undertake to suppress their piracies and give peace to all Europe, by means of its influence with the Porte. For, all the people of these states being obliged by their religion to go at times in caravans to Mecca, and to pass through the Grand Seignior's dominions, who gives them escorts of troops through the desert, to prevent their being plundered and perhaps massacred by the Arabs, he could refuse them passage and protection but on condition of their living peaceably with the Europeans, &c. He spoke of Montgomery's transaction, and of Crocco, who, he understands, was authorized by the court. The barbarians, he observed, having no commercial ships at sea, had vastly the advantage of the Europeans; for one could not make reprisals on their trade. And it has long been my opinion, that, if the European nations, who are powerful at sea, were to make war upon us Americans, it would be better for us to renounce commerce in our own bottoms, and convert them all into cruisers. Other nations would furnish us with what we wanted, and take off our produce. He promised me a note of the commerce of Barbary, and we are to see each other again, as he is to stay here a month.

Dined at Mr. Grand's, with the Swedish gentlemen. They were M. Rosenstein, secretary of the embassy, and ——, with whom I had a good deal of conversation relating to the commerce possible between our two countries. I found they had seen at Rome Charles Stuart, the *Pretender*. They spoke of his situation as very hard; that France, who had formerly allowed him a pension, had withdrawn it, and that he sometimes almost wanted bread!

July 11th. — M. Walterstrof called. He hears that the agreement with Sweden respecting the port of Gottenburg is not likely to be concluded; that Sweden wanted an island in the West Indies in exchange. I think she is better without it.

July 13th. — MM. Mirabeau and Champfort came and read their translation of (American) Mr. Burke's pamphlet against the Cincinnati,* which they have much enlarged, intending it as a covered satire against *noblesse* in general. It is well done. There are also remarks on the last letter of General Washington on that subject. They say General Washington missed a *beau moment*, when he accepted to be of that society (which some affect to call an *order*). The same of the Marquis de la Fayette.

July 14th. — Mr. Hammond calls to acquaint me, that Mr. Hartley is still without any instructions relating to the treaty of commerce; and supposes it occasioned by their attention to the India bill. I said to him, "Your court and this seem to be waiting for one another, with respect to the American trade with your respective islands. You are both afraid of doing too much for us, and yet each wishes to do a little more than the other. You had better have accepted our generous proposal at first, to put us both on the same footing of free intercourse that existed before the war. You will make some narrow regulations, and then France will go beyond you in generosity. You never see your follies till too late to mend them." He said, Lord Sheffield was continually exasperating the Parliament against America. He had lately been publishing an account of loyalists murdered there, &c. Probably invented.

Thursday, July 15th. — The Duke de Chartres's balloon went off this morning from St. Cloud, himself and three others in the gallery. It was foggy, and they were soon out of sight. But, the machine being disordered, so that the trap or valve could not be opened to let out the expanding air, and fearing that the balloon would burst, they cut a hole in it, which ripped larger, and they

* A pamphlet by Ædanus Burke, of South Carolina, entitled "Considerations upon the Order of the Cincinnati." — EDITOR.

fell rapidly, but received no harm. They had been a vast height, met with a cloud of snow, and a tornado, which frightened them.

Friday, 16*th*. — Received a letter from two young gentlemen in London, who are come from America for ecclesiastical orders, and complain that they have been delayed there a year, and that the Archbishop will not permit them to be ordained unless they will take the oath of allegiance; and desiring to know if they may be ordained here. Inquired, and learned that, if ordained here, they must vow obedience to the Archbishop of Paris. Directed my grandson to ask the Nuncio, if their bishop in America might not be instructed to do it literally?

Saturday, 17*th*. — The Nuncio says the thing is impossible, unless the gentlemen become Roman Catholics. Wrote them an answer.

Sunday, 18*th*. — A good abbé brings me a large manuscript containing a scheme of reformation of all churches and states, religion, commerce, laws, &c., which he has planned in his closet, without much knowledge of the world. I have promised to look it over, and he is to call next Thursday. It is amazing the number of legislators that kindly bring me new plans for governing the United States.

Monday, *July* 19*th*. — Had the Americans at dinner, with Mr. White and Mr. Arbuthnot from England. The latter was an officer at Gibraltar during the late siege. He says the Spaniards might have taken it; and that it is now a place of no value to England. That its supposed use as a port for a fleet, to prevent the junction of the Brest and Toulon squadrons, is chimerical. That while the Spaniards are in possession of Algeziras, they can with their gun-boats, in the use of which they are grown very expert, make it impossible for any fleet to lie there.

Tuesday, 20*th*. — My grandson went to court. No news there, except that the Spanish fleet against Algiers is sailed. Receive only one American letter by the packet, which is from the College of Rhode Island, desiring me to solicit benefactions of the King, which I cannot do, for reasons which I shall give them. It is inconceivable why I have no letters from Congress. The treaties with Denmark, Portugal, &c., all neglected! Mr. Hartley makes the same complaint. He is still without orders. Mr. Hammond called and dined with me; says Mr. Pitt begins to lose his popularity; his new taxes, and project about the *navy bills*, give great discontent. He has been burnt in effigy at York. His East India bill not likely to go down; and it is thought he cannot stand long. Mr. Ham-

mond is a friend of Mr. Fox; whose friends, that have lost their places, are called *Fox's Martyrs*.

Wednesday, July 21. — Count de Haga* sends his card to take leave. M. Grand tells me he has bought here my bust with that of M. D'Alembert or Diderot, to take with him to Sweden. He set out last night.

Thursday, 22d. — Lord Fitzmaurice, son of Lord Shelburne, arrives; brought me sundry letters and papers.

He thinks Mr. Pitt in danger of losing his majority in the House of Commons, though great at present; for he will not have wherewithal to pay them. I said, that governing by a Parliament which must be bribed, was employing a very expensive machine, and that the people of England would in time find out, though they had not yet, that, since the Parliament must always do the will of the minister, and be paid for doing it, and the people must find the money to pay them, it would be the same thing in effect, but much cheaper, to be governed by the minister at first hand, without a Parliament. Those present seemed to think the reasoning clear. Lord Fitzmaurice appears a sensible, amiable young man.

Tuesday, 27th. — Lord Fitzmaurice called to see me. His father having requested that I would give him such instructive hints as might be useful to him, I occasionally mentioned the old story of Demosthenes' answer to one who demanded what was the first point of oratory. *Action.* The second? *Action.* The third? *Action.* Which, I said, had been generally understood to mean the action of an orator with his hands, &c., in speaking; but that I thought another kind of action of more importance to an orator, who would persuade people to follow his advice, viz. such a course of action in the conduct of life, as would impress them with an opinion of his integrity as well as of his understanding; that, this opinion once established, all the difficulties, delays, and oppositions, usually occasioned by doubts and suspicions, were prevented; and such a man, though a very imperfect speaker, would almost always carry his points against the most flourishing orator, who had not the character of sincerity. To express my sense of the importance of a good private character in public affairs more strongly, I said the advantage of having it, and the disadvantage of not having it, were so great, that I even believed, if George the Third had had a bad private character, and John Wilkes a good one, the latter might have turned the former out of his kingdom. Lord Shelburne, the

* The King of Sweden.

father of Lord Fitzmaurice, has unfortunately the character of being *insincere;* and it has hurt much his usefulness; though, in all my concerns with him, I never saw any instance of that kind.

No. VI. p. 509.

EXTRACTS FROM A PRIVATE JOURNAL.

Having stayed in France about eight years and a half, I took leave of the court and my friends, and set out on my return home, July 12th, 1785, leaving Passy with my two grandsons, at four P. M.; arrived about eight o'clock at St. Germain. M. de Chaumont, with his daughter Sophia, accompanied us to Nanterre. M. Le Veillard will continue with us to Havre. We met at St. Germain the Miss Alexanders, with Mrs. Williams our cousin, who had provided a lodging for me at M. Benoît's. I found that the motion of the litter, lent me by the Duke de Coigny, did not much incommode me. It was one of the Queen's, carried by two very large mules, the muleteer riding another; M. Le Veillard and my children in a carriage. We drank tea at M. Benoît's, and went early to bed.

Wednesday, July 13th. — Breakfast with our friends, take leave and continue our journey, dine at a good inn at Meulan, and get to Mantes in the evening. A messenger from the Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld meets us there, with an invitation to us to stop at his house at Gaillon the next day, acquainting us at the same time, that he would take no excuse; for, being all-powerful in his archbishopric, he would stop us *nolens volens* at his habitation, and not permit us to lodge anywhere else. We consented. Lodged at Mantes. Found myself very little fatigued with the day's journey, the mules going only foot pace.

July 14th. — Proceed early, and breakfast at Vernon. Received a visit there from Vicomte de Tilly and his Comtesse. Arrive at the Cardinal's without dining, about six in the afternoon. It is a superb ancient château, built about three hundred and fifty years since, but in fine preservation, on an elevated situation, with an extensive and beautiful view over a well-cultivated country. The Cardinal is archbishop of Rouen. A long gallery contains the pictures of all his predecessors. The chapel is elegant in the old style, with well-painted glass windows. The terrace magnificent. We

supped early. The entertainment was kind and cheerful. We were allowed to go early to bed, on account of our intention to depart early in the morning. The Cardinal pressed us to pass another day with him, offering to amuse us with hunting in his park; but the necessity we are under of being in time at Havre, would not permit. So we took leave and retired to rest. The Cardinal is much respected and beloved by the people of this country, bearing in all respects an excellent character.

July 15th. — Set out about five in the morning, travelled till ten, then stopped to breakfast, and remained in the inn during the heat of the day. We had heard at the Cardinal's, that our friend Mr. Holker, of Rouen, had been out that day as far as Port St. Antoine to meet us; expecting us there from a letter of M. de Chaumont's. Here came to us one of his servants, who was sent to inquire if any accident had happened to us on the road, and was ordered to proceed till he got intelligence. He went directly back, and we proceeded. We passed a chain of chalk mountains very high, with strata of flints. The quantity that appears to have been washed away on one side of these mountains, leaving precipices of three hundred feet high, gives an idea of extreme antiquity. It seems as if done by the beating of the sea. We got to Rouen about five; were most affectionately received by Mr. and Mrs. Holker. A great company of genteel people at supper, which was our dinner. The chief President of the Parliament and his lady invite us to dine the next day; but, being preëngaged with Mr. Holker, we compounded for drinking tea. We lodge all at Mr. Holker's.

July 16th. — A deputation from the Academy of Rouen came with their compliments, which were delivered in form, and a present for me by one of the directors, being a magical square, which I think he said expressed my name. I have perused it since, but do not comprehend it. The Duke de Chabot's son, lately married to a Montmorency, and colonel of a regiment now at Rouen, was present at the ceremony, being just come in to visit me. I forgot to mention that I saw with pleasure, in the Cardinal's cabinet, a portrait of this young man's grandmother, Madame la Duchesse d'Enville, who had always been our friend, and treated us with great civilities at Paris; a lady of uncommon intelligence and merit.

I received here also a present of books, 3 vols. 4to., from Dr. ———, with a very polite letter, which I answered.

We had a great company at dinner; and at six went in a chair to the President's, where were assembled some gentlemen of the

robe. We drank tea there, awkwardly made, for want of practice, very little being drunk in France. I went to bed early; but my company supped with a large invited party, and were entertained with excellent singing.

July 17th. — Set out early. Mr. Holker accompanied us some miles, when we took an affectionate leave of each other. Dine at Yvetot a large town, and arrive at Bolbec, being the longest day's journey we have yet made. It is a market-town of considerable bigness, and seems thriving; the people well clad, and appear better fed than those of the wine countries. A linen-printer here offered to remove to America, but I did not encourage him.

July 18th. — Left Bolbec about ten o'clock, and arrive at Havre at five P. M., having stopped on the road at a miserable inn to bait. We were very kindly received by M. and Mde. Ruellan. The governor makes us a visit, and some other gentlemen.

July 19th. — We receive visits in form from the intendant, the governor or commandant, the officers of the regiment of Poitou and Picardy, the corps of engineers, and M. Limosin.

M. Limosin proposes several vessels; all very dear. We wait for the packet from Southampton. Dine at M. Ruellan's, where we lodge. Receive the affiliation of the lodge at Rouen.

July 20th. — Return the visits. Receive one from the *corps de marine;* and one from the *corps d'artillerie.* M. Houdon arrives and brings me letters. Dine at M. Limosin's. Present M. and Mde. Le Mesurier and their sister, agreeable people of Alderney (Aurigny). Kindly entertained by M. Limosin and his daughter. Return the last visits.

The packet-boat arrives, and, the captain (Jennings) calling at our lodging, we agree with him to carry us and the baggage we have here for ten guineas, to land us at Cowes. We are to depart to-morrow evening.

July 21st. — We had another visit from M. de Villeneuve, the commandant, inviting us to dine with him to-morrow; but, intending to go off this evening, we could not accept that honor.

Dine with our friendly host and hostess. Mde. Feinés, Mde. de Clerval, and two other ladies, visit M. Le Veillard, with several gentlemen.

In the evening, when we thought we were on the point of departing, the captain of the packet comes and acquaints us that the wind is right against us, and blows so hard, that it is impossible to get out, and we give up the project till to-morrow.

July 22d. — Breakfast, and take leave of some friends, and go on board the packet at half after ten. Wind not very fair.

July 23d. — Buffet all night against the northwest wind, which was full in our teeth. This continued till two o'clock to-day, then came fair, and we stand our course. At seven P. M. we discover land, the Isle of Wight.

July 24th. — We had a fair wind all night, and this morning at seven o'clock, being off Cowes, the captain represented to me the difficulty of getting in there against the flood; and proposed that we should rather run up to Southampton, which we did, and landed there between eight and nine. Met my son, who had arrived from London the evening before, with Mr. Williams and Mr. J. Alexander. Wrote a letter to the Bishop of St. Asaph, acquainting him with my arrival, and he came with his lady and daughter, Miss Kitty, after dinner, to see us; they talk of staying here as long as we do. Our meeting was very affectionate. I write letters to London, viz. to Messrs. W. J. M. and Co., to acquaint them with our arrival, and desire to know when the ship will sail, and to Mr. Williams. These letters went by post, before we knew of his being here. Wrote also to Mr. B. Vaughan.

July 25th. — The Bishop and family lodging in the same inn, the Star, we all breakfast and dine together. I went at noon to bathe in Martin's salt-water hot-bath, and, floating on my back, fell asleep, and slept near an hour by my watch, without sinking or turning! a thing I never did before, and should hardly have thought possible. Water is the easiest bed that can be. Read over the writings of conveyance, &c., of my son's lands in New Jersey and New York to my grandson. Write to M. Ruellan, M. Limosin, M. Holker, and M. Grand. Southampton a very neat, pretty place. The two French gentlemen, our friends, much pleased with it. The Bishop gives me a book in 4to, written by Dean Paley, and the family dine with us. Sundry friends came to see me from London; by one I receive a present of my friend Dr. Fothergill's works, from Dr. Lettsom, and a book on finance, from Mr. Gale. Mr. Williams tells me the ship had fallen down to Gravesend the 22d, so that she might be in the Downs the 24th, and possibly here to-morrow, that is on the Mother Bank, which we can see hence. Mr. Williams brought a letter from Mr. Nepean, secretary to Lord Townshend, addressed to Mr. Vaughan, expressing that orders would be sent to the custom-house at Cowes not to trouble our baggage, &c. It is still here on board the packet that brought it over. Mr. Alexander takes leave for London; write by him to

Mr. Jackson, Dr. Jeffries, Dr. Lettsom, and my son-in-law Bache, the latter to be sent by the packet.

July 26th. — Deeds signed between W. Franklin and W. T. Franklin.

Mr. Williams, having brought sundry necessaries for me, goes down with them to Cowes, to be ready for embarking. Captain Jennings carries down our baggage that he brought from Havre. My dear friend, M. Le Veillard, takes leave to go with him. Mr. Vaughan arrives from London, to see me.

July 27th. — Give a power to my son to recover what may be due to me from the British government. Hear from J. Williams that the ship is come.

We all dine once more with the Bishop and family, who kindly accept our invitation to go on board with us. We go down in a shallop to the ship. The captain entertains us at supper. The company stay all night.

July 28th. — When I waked in the morning found the company gone, and the ship under sail.

Tuesday, September 13th. — The wind springing fair last evening after a calm, we found ourselves this morning, at sun-rising, abreast of the lighthouse, and between Capes May and Henlopen. We sail into the bay very pleasantly; water smooth, air cool, day fair and fine.

We passed Newcastle about sunset, and went on near to Red Bank before the tide and wind failed; then came to an anchor.

Wednesday, September 14th. — With the flood in the morning came a light breeze, which brought us above Gloucester Point, in full view of dear Philadelphia! when we again cast anchor to wait for the health officer, who, having made his visit, and finding no sickness, gave us leave to land. My son-in-law came with a boat for us; we landed at Market-Street wharf, where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas, and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well.

God be praised and thanked for all his mercies!

No. VII. p. 533.

PROCEEDINGS OF CONGRESS, AND OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE, ON THE DEATH OF FRANKLIN.

THE Congress of the United States was in session at New York at the time of Franklin's death. On receiving the news of that event, they passed the following joint resolution.

"The House, being informed of the decease of Benjamin Franklin, a citizen whose native genius was not more an ornament to human nature, than his various exertions of it have been precious to science, to freedom, and to his country, do resolve, as a mark of the veneration due to his memory, that the members wear the customary badge of mourning for one month."

Honors still more distinguished were paid to him by the National Assembly of France. On the morning after the intelligence reached Paris, June 11th, when the Assembly was convened, Mirabeau rose and spoke as follows.

"Franklin is dead! The genius, that freed America and poured a flood of light over Europe, has returned to the bosom of the Divinity.

"The sage whom two worlds claim as their own, the man for whom the history of science and the history of empires contend with each other, held, without doubt, a high rank in the human race.

"Too long have political cabinets taken formal note of the death of those who were great only in their funeral panegyrics. Too long has the etiquette of courts prescribed hypocritical mourning. Nations should wear mourning only for their benefactors. The representatives of nations should recommend to their homage none but the heroes of humanity.

"The Congress has ordained, throughout the United States, a mourning of one month for the death of Franklin; and, at this moment, America is paying this tribute of veneration and gratitude to one of the fathers of her Constitution.

"Would it not become us, Gentlemen, to join in this religious act, to bear a part in this homage, rendered, in the face of the world, both to the rights of man, and to the philosopher who has most contributed to extend their sway over the whole earth? Antiquity would have raised altars to this mighty genius, who, to the

advantage of mankind, compassing in his mind the heavens and the earth, was able to restrain alike thunderbolts and tyrants. Europe, enlightened and free, owes at least a token of remembrance and regret to one of the greatest men who have ever been engaged in the service of philosophy and of liberty.

"I propose that it be decreed, that the National Assembly, during three days, shall wear mourning for Benjamin Franklin."

Rochefoucauld and Lafayette rose immediately to second the motion. The Assembly adopted it by acclamation; and afterwards decreed, that, on the 14th of June, they should go into mourning for three days; that the discourse of M. Mirabeau should be printed; and that the President should write a letter of condolence on the occasion to the Congress of the United States. The following letter was accordingly written, and directed to President Washington.

"Paris, 20 June, 1790.*

"MR. PRESIDENT,

"The National Assembly has during three days worn mourning for Benjamin Franklin, your fellow-citizen, your friend, and one of the most useful of your coöperators in the establishment of American liberty. They charge me to communicate their resolution to the Congress of the United States. In consequence, I have the honor to address to you, Mr. President, an extract from the proceedings of their session of the 11th, which contains the deliberation.

"The National Assembly have not been stopped in their decree by the consideration that Franklin was a stranger. Great men are the fathers of universal humanity; their loss ought to be felt, as a common misfortune, by all the tribes of the great human family; and it belongs without doubt to a nation still affected by all the sentiments, which accompany the achievement of their liberty, and which owes its enfranchisement essentially to the progress of the public reason, to be the first to give the example of the filial gratitude of the people towards their true benefactors. Besides that these ideas and this example are so proper to disseminate a happy emulation of patriotism, and thus to extend more and more the empire of reason and virtue, which could not fail promptly to determine a body, devoted to the most important legislative combinations, charged with assuring to the French the rights

* The translation of this letter seems unskilful and imperfect, but the original has not been found.

of men and citizens, it has believed, without doubt, that fruitful and great truths were likewise numbered among the rights of man.

"The name of Benjamin Franklin will be immortal in the records of freedom and philosophy; but it is more particularly dear to a country, where, conducted by the most sublime mission, this venerable man knew how very soon to acquire an infinite number of friends and admirers, as well by the simplicity and sweetness of his manners, as by the purity of his principles, the extent of his knowledge, and the charms of his mind.

"It will be remembered, that every success, which he obtained in his important negotiation, was applauded and celebrated (so to express it) all over France, as so many crowns conferred on genius and virtue.

"Even then the sentiment of our rights existed in the bottom of our souls. It was easily perceived, that it feelingly mingled in the interest which we took in behalf of America, and in the public vows which we preferred for your liberty.

"At last the hour of the French has arrived; we love to think, that the citizens of the United States have not regarded with indifference our steps towards liberty. Twenty-six millions of men breaking their chains, and seriously occupied in giving themselves a durable constitution, are not unworthy of the esteem of a generous people, who have preceded them in that noble career.

"We hope they will learn with interest the funeral homage, which we have rendered to the Nestor of America. May this solemn act of fraternal friendship serve more and more to bind the tie, which ought to unite two free nations! May the common enjoyment of liberty shed itself over the whole globe, and become an indissoluble chain of connexion among all the people of the earth! For ought they not to perceive, that they will march more steadfastly and more certainly to their true happiness, in understanding and loving each other, than in being jealous and fighting?

"May the Congress of the United States and the National Assembly of France be the first to furnish this fine spectacle to the world! And may the individuals of the two nations connect themselves by a mutual affection, worthy of the friendship which unites the two men, at this day most illustrious by their exertions for liberty, WASHINGTON and LAFAYETTE!

"Permit me, Mr. President, to offer on this occasion my particular homage of esteem and admiration.

"I have the honor to be, with respectful consideration, Mr. President, your most humble and most obedient servant,

"SIÈYES, *President.*"

Washington transmitted this letter to Congress, and it was resolved, that he should be requested "to communicate to the National Assembly of France the peculiar sensibility of Congress to the tribute paid to the memory of Benjamin Franklin by the enlightened and free representatives of a great nation." In compliance with this request, Washington wrote an answer, dated January 27th, 1791, in which he said;

"I received with particular satisfaction, and imparted to Congress, the communication made by the President's letter of the 20th of June last, in the name of the National Assembly of France. So peculiar and so signal an expression of the esteem of that respectable body for a citizen of the United States, whose eminent and patriotic services are indelibly engraved on the minds of his countrymen, cannot fail to be appreciated by them as it ought to be. On my part, I assure you, Sir, that I am sensible of all its value."

Two days after the decree of the National Assembly, M. de la Rochefoucauld read to the Society, called the "Society of 1789," a paper on the life and character of Franklin. The members then voted, that they would wear mourning for three days, and that the bust of Franklin should be placed in the hall of the Assembly, with this inscription. "*Homage rendered by the unanimous voice of the Society of* 1789 *to Benjamin Franklin, the object of the admiration and regrets of the friends of liberty.*"

The *Commune* of Paris ordered a public celebration in honor of the memory of Franklin. On this occasion the Abbé Fauchet pronounced a Civic Eulogy (*Eloge Civique*) in the presence of a very large concourse of auditors, consisting of the deputies of the National Assembly, the deputies of the departments, the presidents of the districts, the public officers and electors of Paris, and private citizens. The ceremony took place in the vast rotunda of the Grain-Market, which was hung in black, and decorated in an imposing manner. The auditors were all dressed in mourning. The Abbé Fauchet's Eulogy was printed, and twenty-six copies were forwarded to Congress, with a letter from the President of the *Commune* of Paris, which were acknowledged by the following vote.

"The House being highly sensible of the polite attention of

the Commons of Paris, in directing copies of an Eulogium lately pronounced before them, as a tribute to the illustrious memory of Benjamin Franklin, to be transmitted to Congress; Resolved, that the Speaker do accordingly communicate the sense of the House thereon to the President of the Commons of Paris."

Condorcet pronounced a Eulogy of Franklin (*Eloge de Franklin*) before the French Academy of Sciences, on the 13th of November, 1790. This discourse is very elaborate, full in its details, able, and eloquent.

A society of printers in Paris celebrated the event in a novel manner. They assembled in a large hall, in which there was a column surmounted by a bust of Franklin, with a civic crown. Below the bust were arrayed printers' cases and types, with a press, and all the apparatus of the art, which the philosopher had practised with such distinguished success. While one of the fraternity pronounced a eulogy on Franklin, several printers were employed in composing it at the cases; and, as soon as it was finished, impressions of it were taken, and distributed to the large concourse of people, who had been drawn together as spectators of the ceremony.*

The American Philosophical Society honored the memory of their President by appointing Dr. William Smith to deliver a Eulogy; and a similar honor was conferred in Yale College by a Latin Oration from President Stiles. Both these performances have been published.

No. VIII.

EPITAPH.

THERE have been various conjectures respecting the source, from which Dr. Franklin took the first idea of the following epitaph. William Temple Franklin says, that he wrote it "when he was only twenty-three years of age, as appears by the original (with various corrections) found among his papers, and from which this is a faithful copy." He then prints it in these words.

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* See Madame CAMPAN's *Mémoires*, Tom. I. p. 233.

"The Body
Of
Benjamin Franklin,
Printer,
(Like the cover of an old book,
Its contents torn out,
And stript of its lettering and gilding,)
Lies here, food for worms.
But the work shall not be lost,
For it will, as he believed, appear once more,
In a new and more elegant edition,
Revised and corrected
By
THE AUTHOR."

It had before been printed somewhat differently in Mr. Vaughan's edition. The variation is in the following lines, which are thus printed by Mr. Vaughan.

"Yet the work itself shall not be lost,
For it will, as he believed, appear once more,
In a new
And more beautiful edition,
Corrected and amended
By
The Author."

In a note Mr. Vaughan adds; "A newspaper, in which I have seen this copy of Dr. Franklin's epitaph on himself, says, that it first appeared in a Boston newspaper, established and printed by Dr. Franklin." As a copy of Mr. Vaughan's edition was examined by Dr. Franklin, after a full impression was taken off, and before the work was published, it is presumed that the epitaph as here printed and this note, passed under his eye. He made several corrections, which Mr. Vaughan included in the *errata*, but no error is noted in his remark on the epitaph. Hence the date must have been earlier than is mentioned by William Temple Franklin, because the *New England Courant*, the only newspaper in which Dr. Franklin was concerned in Boston, ceased in the year 1727, when he was only twenty-one years old.

It is intimated in the Edinburgh Review, (Vol. II. p. 448,) that he took the first hint of this epitaph from one in Latin, written on Jacob Tonson, the bookseller, by an Eton scholar, which was printed, with an English translation, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for February, 1736. The translation is an unsuccessful paraphrase. The original is likewise inserted in the biographical notice of Ton-

son, in the *Memoirs of the Kit-Cat Club.* The last four lines are all that bear on the subject.

"Hic jacet Bibliopola,
Folio vitæ dilapso,
Expectans novam editionem
Auctiorem et emendatiorem."

There is certainly a striking resemblance between these lines and the closing part of Franklin's epitaph; but, as this latter was written nine or ten years at least before the other, it is obvious, that, if there is any plagiarism in the case, it must lie at the door of the Eton scholar.

It has been supposed, also, that an epitaph on the celebrated John Cotton, written by Mr. Woodbridge, about the year, 1653, may have suggested the first hint to Franklin.

"A living, breathing Bible; tables where
Both covenants at large engravers were;
Gospel and law in's heart had each its column,
His head an index to the sacred volume;
His very name a title-page; and next,
His life a commentary on the text.
O, what a monument of glorious worth,
When in a new edition he comes forth;
Without *errata* may we think he 'll be
In leaves and covers of eternity."

Others again have imagined, that they have discovered the origin of Franklin's epitaph in the following lines on the death of John Foster, who set up the first printing-press in Boston, written by Joseph Capen, and published in 1681.

"Thy body, which no activeness did lack,
Now 's laid aside like an old almanac;
But for the present only 's out of date,
'T will have at length a far more active state.
Yea, though with dust thy body soiled be,
Yet at the resurrection we shall see
A fair edition, and of matchless worth,
Free from *errata*, new in Heaven set forth;
'T is but a word from God, the great Creator,
It shall be done when he saith *Imprimatur.*"

That Franklin had seen one or both of these pieces is probable; it is moreover possible, that he may have derived from them the first thought of the epitaph; yet, even if this could be proved, which

it cannot be, the resemblance between them is so very remote, that it would not detract from the claim which the epitaph may justly have to be considered as an original composition.

No. IX.

FRANKLIN'S WILL.

I, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, of Philadelphia, printer, late Minister Plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the Court of France, now President of the State of Pennsylvania, do make and declare my last will and testament as follows.

To my son, *William Franklin*, late Governor of the Jerseys, I give and devise all the lands I hold or have a right to in the Province of Nova Scotia, to hold to him, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give to him all my books and papers, which he has in his possession, and all debts standing against him on my account-books, willing that no payment for, nor restitution of, the same be required of him by my executors. The part he acted against me in the late war, which is of public notoriety, will account for my leaving him no more of an estate he endeavoured to deprive me of.

Having since my return from France demolished the three houses in Market Street, between Third and Fourth Streets, fronting my dwelling-house, and erected two new and larger houses on the ground, and having also erected another house on the lot which formerly was the passage to my dwelling, and also a printing-office between my dwelling and the front houses; now I do give and devise my said dwelling-house, wherein I now live, my said three new houses, my printing-office, and the lots of ground thereto respectively belonging; also my small house and lot in Sixth Street, which I bought of the Widow Henmarsh; also my pasture ground, which I have in Hickory Lane, with the buildings thereon; also my house and lot on the north side of Market Street, now occupied by Mary Jacobs, together with two houses and lots behind the same, and fronting on Pewter-Platter Alley; also my lot of ground in Arch Street, opposite the Church burying-ground, with the buildings thereon erected; also all my silver plate, pictures, and household goods, of every kind, now in my said dwelling-

house, to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, and to her husband, *Richard Bache*, to hold to them for and during their natural lives, and the life of the longest liver of them. And from and after the decease of the survivor of them, I do give, devise, and bequeath the same to all children already born, or to be born of my said daughter, and to their heirs and assigns for ever, as tenants in common, and not as joint tenants.

And, if any or either of them shall happen to die under age, and without issue, the part and share of him, her, or them, so dying, shall go to and be equally divided among the survivors or survivor of them. But my intention is, that, if any or either of them should happen to die under age, leaving issue, such issue shall inherit the part and share that would have passed to his, her, or their parent, had he, she, or they been living. And, as some of my said devisees may, at the death of the survivor of their father and mother, be of age, and others of them under age, so as that all of them may not be of capacity to make division; I in that case request and authorize the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature of Pennsylvania, for the time being, or any three of them, not personally interested, to appoint by writing, under their hands and seals, three honest, intelligent, impartial men to make the said division, and to assign and allot to each of my devisees their respective share, which division, so made and committed to writing under the hands and seals of the said three men, or of any two of them, and confirmed by the said Judges, I do hereby declare shall be binding on, and conclusive between, the said devisees.

All the lands near the Ohio, and the lots near the centre of Philadelphia, which I lately purchased of the State, I give to my son-in-law, *Richard Bache*, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give him the bond I have against him, of two thousand one hundred and seventy-two pounds, five shillings, together with the interest that shall or may accrue thereon, and direct the same to be delivered up to him by my executors cancelled, requesting that, in consideration thereof, he would immediately after my decease manumit and set free his negro man Bob. I leave to him, also, the money due to me from the State of Virginia for types. I also give to him the bond of William Goddard and his sister, and the counter bond of the late Robert Grace, and the bond and judgment of Francis Childs, if not recovered before my decease, or any other bonds then due, except the bond due from —— Killan, of Delaware State, which I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Frank-*

lin Bache. I also discharge him, my said son-in-law, from all claim of rent and moneys due to me, on book account or otherwise. I also give him all my musical instruments.

The King of France's picture, set with four hundred and eight diamonds, I give to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, requesting, however, that she would not form any of those diamonds into ornaments, either for herself or daughters, and thereby introduce or countenance the expensive, vain, and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country; and that those immediately connected with the picture may be preserved with the same.

I give and devise to my dear sister, *Jane Mecom*, a house and lot I have in Unity Street, Boston, now or late under the care of Mr. Jonathan Williams, to her and to her heirs and assigns for ever. I also give her the yearly sum of fifty pounds sterling, during life, to commence at my death, and to be paid to her annually out of the interest or dividends arising on twelve shares, which I have since my arrival at Philadelphia purchased in the Bank of North America, and, at her decease, I give the said twelve shares in the bank to my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, and her husband, *Richard Bache*. But it is my express will and desire, that, after payment of the above fifty pounds sterling annually to my said sister, my said daughter be allowed to apply the residue of the interest or dividends arising on those shares to her sole and separate use, during the life of my said sister, and afterwards the whole of the interest or dividends thereof as her private pocket money.

I give the right I have to take up three thousand acres of land in the State of Georgia, granted to me by the government of that State, to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*, his heirs and assigns for ever. I also give to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*, the bond and judgment I have against him of four thousand pounds sterling, my right to the same to cease upon the day of his marriage; and, if he dies unmarried, my will is, that the same be recovered and divided among my other grandchildren, the children of my daughter, *Sarah Bache*, in such manner and form as I have herein before given to them the other parts of my estate.

The philosophical instruments I have in Philadelphia I give to my ingenious friend, *Francis Hopkinson*.

To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my brother, *Samuel Franklin*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among

them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Anne Harris*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my brother, *James Franklin*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Sarah Davenport*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Lydia Scott*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them. To the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of my sister, *Jane Mecom*, that may be living at the time of my decease, I give fifty pounds sterling, to be equally divided among them.

I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, all the types and printing materials, which I now have in Philadelphia, with the complete letter foundery, which, in the whole, I suppose to be worth near one thousand pounds; but, if he should die under age, and without children, then I do order the same to be sold, by my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, and the moneys thence arising to be equally divided among all the rest of my said daughter's children or their representatives, each one on coming of age to take his or her share, and the children of such of them as may die under age to represent, and to take the share and proportion of, the parent so dying, each one to receive his or her part of such share as they come of age.

With regard to my books, those I had in France and those I left in Philadelphia being now assembled together here, and a catalogue made of them, it is my intention to dispose of the same as follows. My "History of the Academy of Sciences," in sixty or seventy volumes quarto, I give to the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, of which I have the honor to be President. My collection in folio of *Les Arts et les Métiers*, I give to the American Philosophical Society established in New England,* of which I am a member. My quarto edition of the same *Arts et Métiers*, I give to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Such and so many of my books, as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, I do hereby

* The American Academy of Arts and Sciences. — EDITOR.

give to him; and such and so many of my books, as I shall mark on the said catalogue with the name of my grandson, *William Bache*, I do hereby give to him; and such as shall be marked with the name of *Jonathan Williams*, I hereby give to my cousin of that name. The residue and remainder of all my books, manuscripts, and papers, I do give to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*. My share in the Library Company of Philadelphia, I give to my grandson, *Benjamin Franklin Bache*, confiding that he will permit his brothers and sisters to share in the use of it.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or those person or persons, who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest for ever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools, for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools belonging to the said town, in such manner as to the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet.*

Out of the salary that may remain due to me as President of the State, I do give the sum of two thousand pounds to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to such person or persons as the legislature of this State by an act of Assembly shall appoint to receive the same in trust, to be employed for making the river Schuylkill navigable.

And what money of mine shall, at the time of my decease, remain in the hands of my bankers, Messrs. Ferdinand Grand & Son, at Paris, or Messrs. Smith, Wright, & Gray, of London, I will that, after my debts are paid and deducted, with the money legacies of this my will, the same be divided into four equal parts, two of which I give to my dear daughter, *Sarah Bache*, one to her son *Benjamin*, and one to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*.

During the number of years I was in business as a stationer, printer, and postmaster, a great many small sums became due

* This donation has been successfully applied. The fund now (1840) amounts to $1,000, which is invested in six per cent city stock. The interest is annually appropriated for purchasing medals, which are distributed in the schools — Editor.

CODICIL.

I, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, in the foregoing or annexed last will and testament named, having further considered the same, do think proper to make and publish the following codicil or addition thereto.

It having long been a fixed political opinion of mine, that, in a democratical state, there ought to be no offices of profit for the reasons I had given in an article of my drawing in our Constitution, it was my intention, when I accepted the office of President, to devote the appointed salary to some public uses. Accordingly, I had already, before I made my will in July last, given large sums of it to colleges, schools, building of churches, &c.; and in that will I bequeathed two thousand pounds more to the State for the purpose of making the Schuylkill navigable. But, understanding since, that such a sum will do but little towards accomplishing such a work, and that the project is not likely to be undertaken for many years to come, and having entertained another idea, that I hope may be more extensively useful, I do hereby revoke and annul that bequest, and direct that the certificates I have for what remains due to me of that salary be sold, towards raising the sum of two thousand pounds sterling, to be disposed of as I am now about to order.

It has been an opinion, that he who receives an estate from his ancestors is under some kind of obligation to transmit the same to their posterity. This obligation does not lie on me, who never inherited a shilling from any ancestor or relation. I shall, however, if it is not diminished by some accident before my death, leave a considerable estate among my descendants and relations. The above observation is made merely as some apology to my family for my making bequests, that do not appear to have any immediate relation to their advantage.

I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar-schools established there. I have, therefore, already considered those schools in my will. But I am also under obligations to the State of Massachusetts for having, unasked, appointed me formerly their agent in England, with a handsome salary, which continued some years; and, although I accidentally lost in their service, by transmitting Governor Hutchinson's letters, much more than the amount of what they gave me, I do not think that ought in the least to diminish my gratitude.

I have considered, that, among artisans, good apprentices are

most likely to make good citizens, and, having myself been bred to a manual art, printing, in my native town, and afterwards assisted to set up my business in Philadelphia by kind loans of money from two friends there, which was the foundation of my fortune, and of all the utility in life that may be ascribed to me, I wish to be useful even after my death, if possible, in forming and advancing other young men, that may be serviceable to their country in both those towns. To this end, I devote two thousand pounds sterling, of which I give one thousand thereof to the inhabitants of the town of Boston, in Massachusetts, and the other thousand to the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia, in trust, to and for the uses, intents, and purposes hereinafter mentioned and declared.

The said sum of one thousand pounds sterling, if accepted by the inhabitants of the town of Boston, shall be managed under the direction of the selectmen, united with the ministers of the oldest Episcopalian, Congregational, and Presbyterian churches in that town, who are to let out the same upon interest, at five per cent per annum, to such young married artificers, under the age of twenty-five years, as have served an apprenticeship in the said town, and faithfully fulfilled the duties required in their indentures, so as to obtain a good moral character from at least two respectable citizens, who are willing to become their sureties, in a bond with the applicants, for the repayment of the moneys so lent, with interest, according to the terms hereinafter prescribed; all which bonds are to be taken for Spanish milled dollars, or the value thereof in current gold coin; and the managers shall keep a bound book or books, wherein shall be entered the names of those who shall apply for and receive the benefits of this institution, and of their sureties, together with the sums lent, the dates, and other necessary and proper records respecting the business and concerns of this institution. And, as these loans are intended to assist young married artificers in setting up their business, they are to be proportioned, by the discretion of the managers, so as not to exceed sixty pounds sterling to one person, nor to be less than fifteen pounds; and, if the number of appliers so entitled should be so large as that the sum will not suffice to afford to each as much as might otherwise not be improper, the proportion to each shall be diminished so as to afford to every one some assistance. These aids may, therefore, be small at first, but, as the capital increases by the accumulated interest, they will be more ample. And, in order to serve as many as possible in their turn, as well as to make the repayment of the principal borrowed more easy, each bor-

rower shall be obliged to pay, with the yearly interest, one tenth part of the principal, which sums of principal and interest, so paid in, shall be again let out to fresh borrowers.

And, as it is presumed that there will always be found in Boston virtuous and benevolent citizens, willing to bestow a part of their time in doing good to the rising generation, by superintending and managing this institution gratis, it is hoped, that no part of the money will at any time be dead, or be diverted to other purposes, but be continually augmenting by the interest; in which case there may, in time, be more than the occasions in Boston shall require, and then some may be spared to the neighbouring or other towns in the said State of Massachusetts, who may desire to have it; such towns engaging to pay punctually the interest and the portions of the principal, annually, to the inhabitants of the town of Boston.

If this plan is executed, and succeeds as projected without interruption for one hundred years, the sum will then be one hundred and thirty-one thousand pounds; of which I would have the managers of the donation to the town of Boston then lay out, at their discretion, one hundred thousand pounds in public works, which may be judged of most general utility to the inhabitants; such as fortifications, bridges, aqueducts, public buildings, baths, pavements, or whatever may make living in the town more convenient to its people, and render it more agreeable to strangers resorting thither for health or a temporary residence. The remaining thirty-one thousand pounds I would have continued to be let out on interest, in the manner above directed, for another hundred years, as I hope it will have been found that the institution has had a good effect on the conduct of youth, and been of service to many worthy characters and useful citizens. At the end of this second term, if no unfortunate accident has prevented the operation, the sum will be four millions and sixty-one thousand pounds sterling; of which I leave one million sixty-one thousand pounds to the disposition of the inhabitants of the town of Boston, and three millions to the disposition of the government of the State, not presuming to carry my views farther.

All the directions herein given, respecting the disposition and management of the donation to the inhabitants of Boston, I would have observed respecting that to the inhabitants of Philadelphia, only, as Philadelphia is incorporated, I request the corporation of that city to undertake the management agreeably to the said directions; and I do hereby vest them with full and ample powers for that purpose. And, having considered that the covering a ground

plat with buildings and pavements, which carry off most of the rain, and prevent its soaking into the earth and renewing and purifying the springs, whence the water of the wells must gradually grow worse, and in time be unfit for use, as I find has happened in all old cities, I recommend, that at the end of the first hundred years, if not done before, the corporation of the city employ a part of the hundred thousand pounds in bringing, by pipes, the water of Wissahickon Creek into the town, so as to supply the inhabitants, which I apprehend may be done without great difficulty, the level of that Creek being much above that of the city, and may be made higher by a dam. I also recommend making the Schuylkill completely navigable. At the end of the second hundred years, I would have the disposition of the four million and sixty one thousand pounds divided between the inhabitants of the city of Philadelphia and the government of Pennsylvania, in the same manner as herein directed with respect to that of the inhabitants of Boston and the government of Massachusetts.

It is my desire, that this institution should take place and begin to operate within one year after my decease; for which purpose, due notice should be publicly given previous to the expiration of that year, that those for whose benefit this establishment is intended may make their respective applications. And I hereby direct my executors, the survivors or survivor of them, within six months after my decease, to pay over the said sum of two thousand pounds sterling to such persons as shall be duly appointed by the selectmen of Boston, and the corporation of Philadelphia, to receive and take charge of their respective sums, of one thousand pounds each, for the purposes aforesaid.

Considering the accidents to which all human affairs and projects are subject in such a length of time, I have, perhaps, too much flattered myself with a vain fancy, that these dispositions, if carried into execution, will be continued without interruption and have the effects proposed. I hope, however, that if the inhabitants of the two cities should not think fit to undertake the execution, they will, at least, accept the offer of these donations as a mark of my good will, a token of my gratitude, and a testimony of my earnest desire to be useful to them after my departure. I wish, indeed, that they may both undertake to endeavour the execution of the project, because I think, that, though unforeseen difficulties may arise, expedients will be found to remove them, and the scheme be found practicable. If one of them accepts the money, with the conditions, and the other refuses, my will then is, that both sums be

given to the inhabitants of the city accepting the whole, to be applied to the same purposes, and under the same regulations directed for the separate parts; and, if both refuse, the money of course remains in the mass of my estate, and is to be disposed of therewith according to my will made the seventeenth day of July, 1788.

I wish to be buried by the side of my wife, if it may be, and that a marble stone, to be made by Chambers, six feet long, four feet wide, plain, with only a small moulding round the upper edge, and this inscription,

BENJAMIN AND DEBORAH } FRANKLIN.

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to be placed over us both.

My fine crabtree walking-stick, with a gold head curiously wrought in the form of the cap of liberty, I give to my friend, and the friend of mankind, *General Washington*. If it were a sceptre, he has merited it and would become it. It was a present to me from that excellent woman, Madame de Forbach, the Dowager Duchess of Deux-Ponts, connected with some verses, which should go with it.

I give my gold watch to my son-in-law *Richard Bache*, and also the gold watch-chain of the thirteen United States, which I have not yet worn. My time-piece, that stands in my library, I give to my grandson, *William Temple Franklin*. I give him also my Chinese gong. To my dear old friend, *Mrs. Mary Hewson*, I give one of my silver tankards marked, for her use during her life, and after her decease I give it to her daughter *Eliza*. I give to her son, *William Hewson*, who is my godson, my new quarto bible, Oxford edition, to be for his family bible, and also the botanic description of the plants in the Emperor's garden at Vienna, in folio, with colored cuts. And to her son, *Thomas Hewson*, I give a set of Spectators, Tatlers, and Guardians, handsomely bound.

There is an error in my will, where the bond of *William Temple Franklin* is mentioned as being for four thousand pounds sterling, whereas it is but for three thousand five hundred pounds.

I give to my executors, to be divided equally among those that act, the sum of sixty pounds sterling, as some compensation for their trouble in the execution of my will; and I request my friend, *Mr. Duffield*, to accept moreover my French Wayweiser, a piece of

clockwork in brass, to be fixed to the wheel of any carriage; and that my friend, *Mr. Hill*, may also accept my silver cream-pot, formerly given to me by the good Dr. Fothergill, with the motto, *Keep bright the chain.* My reflecting telescope, made by Short, which was formerly Mr. Canton's, I give to my friend, *Mr. David Rittenhouse*, for the use of his observatory.

My picture, drawn by Martin in 1767, I give to the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, if they shall be pleased to do me the honor of accepting it, and placing it in their chamber.

Since my will was made, I have bought some more city lots near the centre part of the estate of Joseph Dean. I would have them go with the other lots, disposed of in my will; and I do give the same to my son-in-law, *Richard Bache*, his heirs and assigns forever.

In addition to the annuity left to my sister in my will, of fifty pounds sterling during her life, I now add thereto ten pounds sterling more, in order to make the sum sixty pounds.

I give twenty guineas to my good friend and physician, *Dr. John Jones.*

With regard to the separate bequests made to my daughter *Sarah* in my will, my intention is, that the same shall be for her sole and separate use, notwithstanding her coverture, or whether she be covert or sole; and I do give my executors so much right and power therein, as may be necessary to render my intention effectual in that respect only. This provision for my daughter is not made out of any disrespect I have for her husband.

And lastly, it is my desire, that this my present codicil be annexed to, and considered as part of, my last will and testament to all intents and purposes.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this twenty-third day of June, anno Domini one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine.

B. FRANKLIN.

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the abovenamed Benjamin Franklin to be a Codicil to his last will and testament, in the presence of us

FRANCIS BAILEY,
THOMAS LANG,
ABRAHAM SHOEMAKER.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

THE experiment of nearly half a century has not produced all the beneficial results, which were anticipated by Dr. Franklin, from his bequest to Boston and Philadelphia. The following is an extract from a printed Report of the Committee of Legacies and Trusts, made in the Common Council of Philadelphia April 27th, 1837, by Mr. John Thomason, chairman of the Committee.

"From official returns," says the Report, "it appears, that up to the 1st of January, 1837, the fund has been borrowed by one hundred and ninety-three individuals, in sums mostly of $260 each. At that date, the fund was in the hands of one hundred and twelve beneficiaries, of whom nineteen have paid neither principal nor interest, although the accounts of some of them have been open for a period of thirty-four years. Ninety other persons stand indebted in sums from $21 to $292; and three, having borrowed within the year, were not, at the last-mentioned date, liable to any demand by the trustees. Of these one hundred and nine cases of non-compliance with the terms of the will, fifty-eight bonds may be subject to a plea of the statute of limitation, and the rest are still valid. In this condition of the fund, it becomes difficult to estimate its present value. Should all the debts be recovered, the amount of the fund would be $23,627·09; but, from the length of time elapsed since the date of many of those bonds, such a result is hopeless; and even this latter sum, large as it is, is below the amount it would have attained at this time, had the intentions of the testator been fully carried out. The original bequest of $4,444·44, at compound interest for forty-five years, would be $39,833·29; and, although the immediate conversion of interest into principal, as the former becomes due, is not always practicable, yet it is believed, that, with careful management, the fund would, at this time, have lacked but little of that amount. How far the fund falls short, may be partly judged from the actual receipts on account of this legacy for the last ten years. During that time the sum of $16,191·92 has been paid in. As this period included the term for lending out, and receiving back with interest, the whole fund, the receipts within that term may be taken *as a safe approximation to its real value;* to which must be added the sum to be obtained through the enforcing of payment, by legal process, from such securities as may be good at this late day. Had the fund been placed at simple interest, it would have amounted to the last-mentioned sum by this time.

"Had the requirements of the will been, in former years, fully complied with, the operation of the fund, at this day, would be sensibly felt by the mechanics of Philadelphia. Passing from one borrower to another, and increasing in a compound ratio, its effect would be to stimulate useful industry, which, without such capital, would have remained unproductive. It would have increased the number of those who do business on their own stock. It would be a standing lesson on the immutable connexion between capital and productive industry, thus constantly inciting to economy and prudence. It would have become the reward of every faithful apprentice, who could look forward to a participation in its benefit. It is deeply to be regretted, that this state of things, which had so captivated the imagination of Franklin that he devoted a portion of his hard-earned wealth to realize it for the mechanics of Philadelphia, should, in the emphatic language of his will, prove 'a vain fancy.'"

By this statement it would seem, that there had been at some time a remarkable want of fidelity in administering the trust, especially in allowing so large

a number of bonds to become worthless by the statute of limitation, and neglecting to make seasonable demands upon the sureties.

Appended to the same report is a letter from Mr. William Minot, treasurer of the Franklin Fund in Boston, dated December 23d, 1836, which contains the following state of the fund in that city.

"The whole number of loans from this Fund," Mr. Minot says, "from May, 1791, to the present time, has been 255, in sums varying from $70 to $266 up to the year 1800, since which time they have usually been $200.

"From July, 1811, to the present time, the number of loans has been 91, of which 50, at least, have been repaid (in whole or in part) by sureties, and on four of these are balances which cannot be collected, both principals and sureties being insolvent.

"Dr. Franklin's donation was £1,000 sterling. The present value of the Fund, is as follows;

"Estimate of 13 bonds, considered good, - - -	$ 1,428·68
"Amount deposited, on interest, in the office of the Massachusetts Hospital Life Insurance Company, - - -	22,739·00
"Cash in the hands of the Treasurer - - -	158 15
	$ 24,325 83

"It is apparent, from these facts, that the benevolent intentions of the donor have not been realized, and that, in the present condition of our country, it is not advantageous to married mechanics, under the age of twenty-four years, to borrow money to be repaid in easy instalments, at a low rate of interest; and the improvidence of early marriages, among that class of men, may fairly be inferred.

"The great number of instances, in which sureties have been obliged to pay the loans, has rendered it not so easy, as formerly, for applicants to obtain the required security. This is proved by the small number of loans from the fund, averaging for the last five years, not more than one a year.

"Until within the last twenty years, no great care was taken in accumulating the fund. It is now carefully attended to; and money not required for actual use is placed in the Life Insurance Company, where it increases at the rate of about five and one-third per cent a year.

"The loans are made at the rate of five per cent, but, on instalments past due, six per cent is charged, from the time they were payable, and the bonds of delinquents are put in suit after reasonable notice. Two sureties, at least, are required on each bond."

According to the treasurer's return on the 1st of January, 1840, the amount of the fund in Boston was at that time as follows.

Deposited in the Life Insurance office, - - -	$ 26,595·64
Bonds for Loans - - - - - -	1,846·35
	$ 28,441·99

END OF VOL. I.

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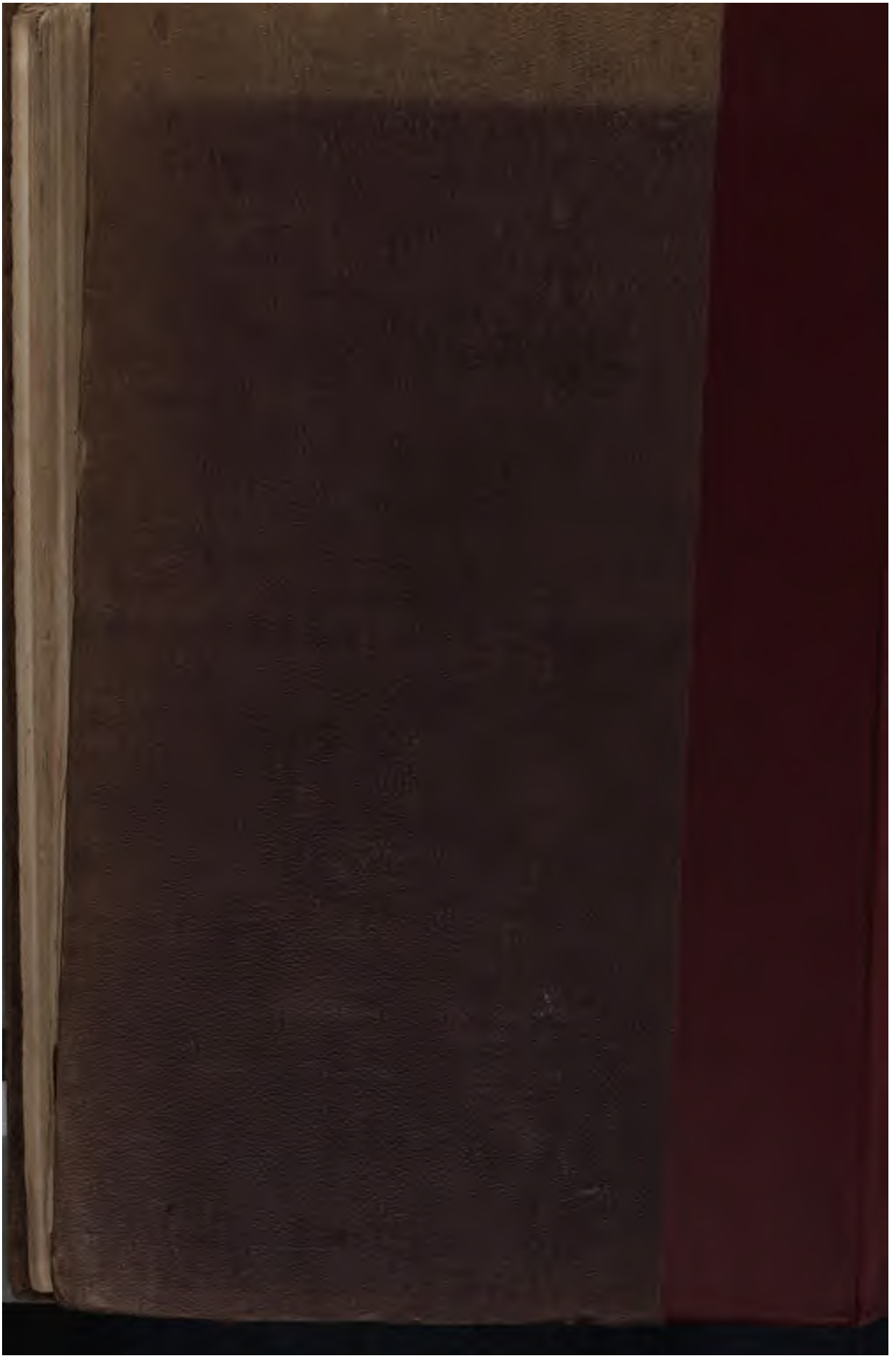
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